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Germany invades Poland

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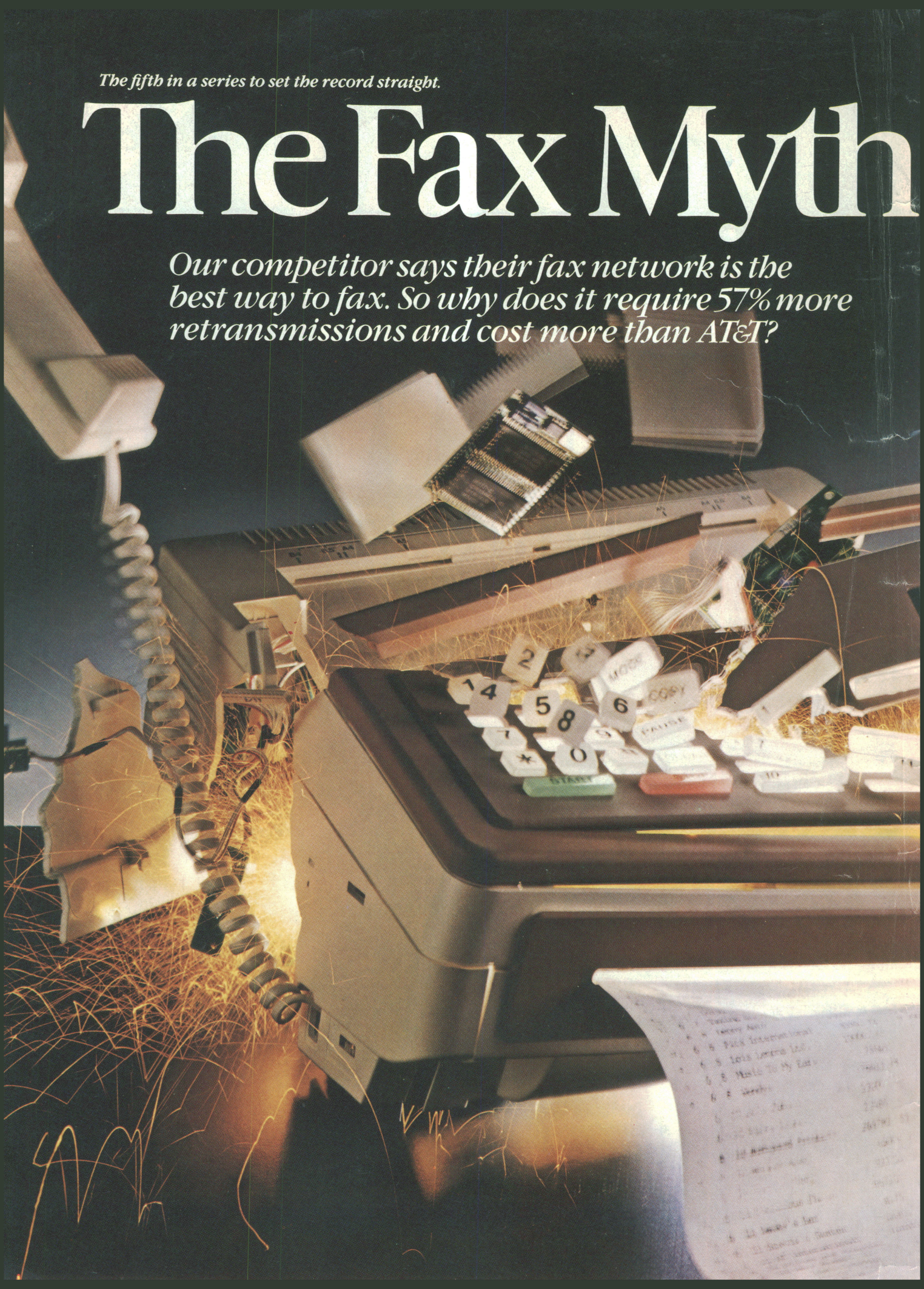

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Vol. 134 No. 9

TIME

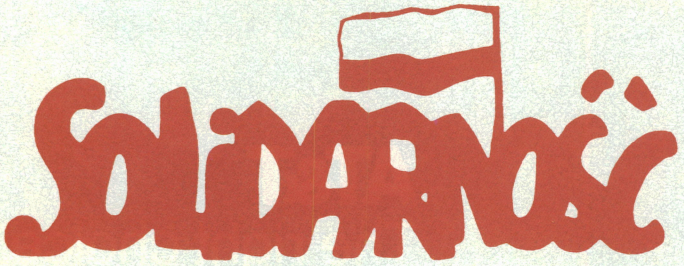
THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

ULLSTEIN BILDERDIENST

COVER: Fifty years ago next week, Hitler's legions began World War II, and darkness fell upon much of mankind 28

Nazi Germany's invasion of Poland on Sept. 1, 1939, started a titanic struggle that ultimately killed about 50 million people and changed the world forever. Here is the story of how it all began, plus vivid reminiscences by such varied survivors as Poland's General Jaruzelski and West Germany's President Von Weizsäcker and a profile of that architect of evil: Adolf Hitler.

WORLD: The Polish crisis produces the unimaginable—an East European government led by non-Communists 16



Solidarity, long an outlaw, forms a new coalition to take over from the bankrupt regime in Warsaw, but the army and the police remain under Communist control. Eyeing each other, Washington and Moscow promise to let Poland be Poland. ▸ Beirut's battling factions threaten finally to murder the city itself.

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JOSE AZEL—CONTACT

NATION: The U.S. mulls widening the drug fight into a new jungle war

10

Drug czar Bennett wants to carry the battle against coca barons to Peru and Bolivia, but Washington worries about another endless struggle against elusive guerrillas. ▸ A Detroit father's grisly way of getting rid of his "burdens."

BUSINESS: Sports shoes are leaping off the shelves

Nike, Reebok and L.A. Gear are creating space-age sneakers in their fight for a $9 billion market. ▸ Payoffs and fake lab results taint the generic-drug industry.

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ENVIRONMENT: An acrobatic bid to save the forests

Activists from the radical conservation group Earth First take to the treetops to protest logging in the nation's few remaining tracts of old-growth woodland.

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MEDICINE: The youngest victims of alcohol abuse

Drinking during pregnancy, and even while nursing, is riskier than many women realize. Each year more than 50,000 U.S. babies are born with alcohol-related defects.

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EDUCATION: Taking aim at the nation's schools

In his forthcoming book, John Silber, Boston University's outspoken and controversial president, speaks his mind on teachers, students and declining standards.

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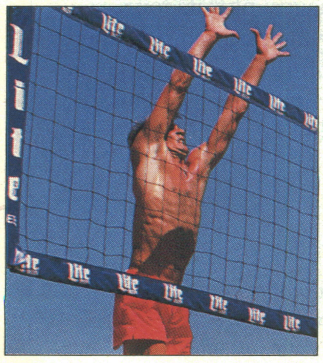

SPORT: Beach volleyball nets some big bucks

Once a laid-back California pastime, the seaside game goes major league with six-figure earnings for pro players and a televised schedule of tournaments.

71

ESSAY: Banning flag abuse may not be so easy

Questions abound, including: Philosophically, can a secular symbol be "desecrated"?

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Cover:
Photograph by U.P.I.—Bettmann

From the Publisher

Asked to find and interview people who lived through the Nazi invasion of Poland 50 years ago, Jerusalem reporter Marlin Levin contacted dozens of sources before he was finally steered to Rafael Loc, 79, a Tel Aviv lawyer who emigrated to Israel from Poland in 1956. Loc had not only been a lieutenant on the front lines but had also survived five years in a German POW camp. "As his wife served homemade Polish cake, Loc spent two hours telling me about his adventures," says Levin. "The fact that he lived through the war when nearly every Polish Jew had been killed is remarkable."

Loc's recollections are part of our look back at one of the 20th century's watershed events—the beginning of World War II. (A second installment next week will trace the war up to Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor.) Polish President Wojciech Jaruzelski spoke to John Borrell about his family's flight to Lithuania three weeks after the invasion, while Otto von Habsburg, son of Austria-Hungary's last Emperor, detailed for Gertraud Lessing the incongruously lavish meal he ate at the Ritz in Paris the night the government fled the city. Franz Spelman, who visited filmmaker Leni Riefenstahl, Hitler's famous propagandist, at her villa near Munich, discovered a well-coiffed blond who had just returned from scuba diving in the Caribbean and looked 20 years younger than her age (87). Leonora Dodsworth tracked down Edda Ciano, Mussolini's eldest daughter, at her elegant apartment in Rome. "She has *Il Duce's* baleful glare and obviously still adores her father."

TED THAI

Dunn, Hochstein and Friedrich review pictures

Recollections from Jaruzelski and Mussolini's daughter

The main narrative was written by Otto Friedrich, who remembers the day of the invasion clearly. "I was ten years old and sat glued to the shortwave radio in the living room of my father's farm in Vermont, trying to get news of the air raids," he recalls. Assembling the pictures for the report, which was designed by Arthur Hochstein, Mary Dunn found a set of stills taken of Hitler that showed him honing his speech gestures; a picture from that extraordinary series illustrates the profile of Hitler in this issue.

Robert L. Miller

A history written in light

On the Art of Fixing a Shadow

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Alfred Stieglitz, Flatiron, 1902
National Gallery of Art, Alfred Stieglitz Collection

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Letters

TV STAR POWER

"Diane Sawyer: You bet she's worth it."

Tricia Marrapodi, Tucson

You ask whether TV news star Diane Sawyer is worth her pay [VIDEO, Aug. 7]. The reply is a resounding yes! I'll give you the benefit of the doubt and assume there was no sexual bias in posing the question. The real issue is whether her co-anchor, Sam Donaldson, merits his. His patronizing demeanor offends me and, I'm sure, many others. Their show will be able to survive only if viewers feel her assets outweigh his shortcomings.

Henry R. Hug
Saginaw, Mich.

An intelligent woman works hard all her life to achieve a top position in her profession, but it seems that everyone is taking pains to point out her good looks, her winning smile and her charms. What ever happened to giving credit where credit is due?

Katherine M. Walton
Baltimore

The hype about the money and glamour of these media stars sets a poor example for American youth. It encourages some to take an easy route to the "good life" through crime or drugs. The integrity of the Fourth Estate was more secure when journalism was controlled by newshounds, not show dogs.

Judith Richards
Fairhope, Ala.

You say a CBS producer recalled that Sawyer would "show up at 2 o'clock in the morning and write her own copy" and said that this was "unheard of." When I was a news writer for CBS in the mid-1970s, I sometimes worked the overnight shift and helped prepare the *CBS Morning News*. Then it was the exception if an anchor did not contribute a good share of the copy; it was part of the job.

Alison Owings
Mill Valley, Calif.

In answer to your question, Sawyer is worth at least what Donaldson, Dan Rather or any other major network anchor earns. It's plain comparable value. Whether any of them truly merits what they make is an entirely different matter.

Elizabeth Anne Meyer
Royal Oak, Mich.

Blacks in America

I applaud your insightful analysis of the National Research Council's *A Common Destiny: Blacks and American Society* [NATION, Aug. 7]. The study is positive proof that when black and white theorists are able to get together and examine race relations, we come a bit closer to solving the problems.

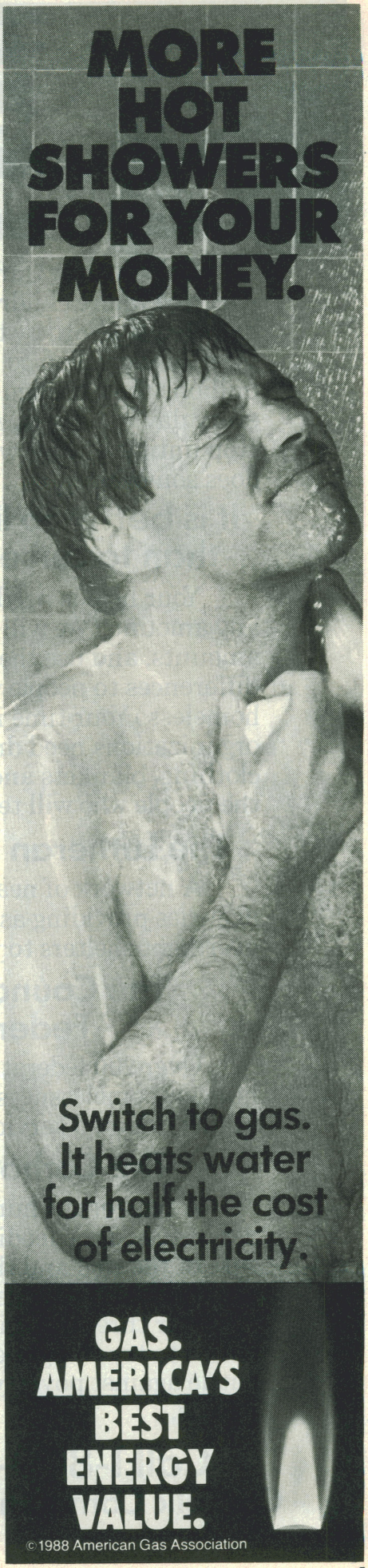
Roberto Santiago
New York City

TIME reports a survey that blames whites for lack of black progress. You describe prevalent white attitudes toward integration, whites' "smug" beliefs and white America's resistance to racial equality. What about prevalent black attitudes toward integration or black America's smug beliefs? You paint whites as the villains and blacks as the victims. Many whites are tired of this unfortunate generalization, and for this reason have stopped caring about race relations in America.

Marcus A. Hughes
Duncanville, Texas

The comment of St. Louis school board member Shirley Walters Kiel that the city's "schools are going down, down, down" is at variance with the record. The St. Louis school system in recent years has had a most successful voluntary desegregation plan. Within the district, average scores on achievement tests rose above national norms and statewide averages. The total curriculum has been revised and updated in the past five years. In the same period, St. Louis voters have approved additional funds for schools, supporting efforts to reduce class size, modernize the curriculum and repair the buildings. Just for the record, board member Kiel in no way represents the views of the entire board of education.

Joyce M. Thomas, President
St. Louis Board of Education
St. Louis



A Message to Every Well-Intentioned American:

For God's sake, do something.

Did you ever think we would tolerate an America where children are routinely battered to death by their guardians? Where over three million go homeless, and more millions than that go hungry? It gets worse every day, you know. And it isn't going to stop until everyone who can do something, does something.

It is better to light one candle than to curse the darkness.

Your help is needed. Financial help in any amount. (We will combine even small amounts, and use them to make big differences to people who are hungry and homeless.) Your time is needed. Volunteer organizations need drivers, food servers, clothing, blankets and money. And these are the people who will tell you when and where.

The Lutheran Social Services

A network of nearly 300 human service agencies providing assistance ranging from overnight shelters to job training programs.

The Council of Jewish Federations

Over 200 federations dealing with hunger, homelessness, child abuse and other family oriented services.

The Catholic Charities

A network of hundreds of organizations dedicated to the feeding of the hungry, the care of the sick and the old, whatever our resources and your generosity will allow.

Our three organizations have joined hands to try to fight even harder in the battle against poverty and despair. Please join us.

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Woman of the Hour

The political gains of Japan Socialist Party leader Takako Doi [WORLD, Aug. 7] are inspiring. Using the ballot, the Japanese people have revolted against sleazy traditional politics and supported Doi's goal to end the ruling party's monopoly on power. The Doi phenomenon is a sign of the emerging emancipation of Asian women. It reinvigorates Japanese democracy. I hope Doi becomes Prime Minister; I support her vision of a neutral and nonmilitarist Japan.

Mary C. Young Siu Tin
Quezon City, the Philippines

What a magnificent misstatement was Agriculture Minister Hisao Horinouchi's assertion that "it is wrong for women to come to the forefront of politics." In the recent Japanese upper-house election campaign, he helped bring out female voters. One result was a 43% increase in women members of the upper house, from 23 to 33. Horinouchi has done more than anyone else to advance women in a major legislative body.

George A. Dean
Southport, Conn.

Decision on Time Warner

Hurrah for Time Warner Inc. [BUSINESS, Aug. 7]! Had Paramount's raid been successful, the editorial integrity of TIME and its sister publications could have been drastically changed. Now they can continue to blossom and grow, editorial independence intact. May Time Warner keep the objective of being the best in providing information and entertainment.

H. Louis Evert
Philadelphia

The basic premise of common stock is public ownership. Shareholders have the right to vote on matters that affect their company. Time did not allow such a vote to take place. Now, maybe it's good business to turn down an offer of $200 a share, which is nearly 60% more than the value of Time stock before Paramount made its initial bid back in early June. And yes, taking on up to $14 billion in debt to acquire Warner could be in the shareholders' best interest. But I think making these decisions behind closed doors, without allowing the owners of the company to vote on such a monumental matter, is a breach of faith.

Dave Willette
San Francisco

Trout-Stream High

Jerome Cramer has the whole story of fly-fishing for trout down to a T [SPORT, Aug. 7]. He has caught the fever of "matching the hatch" (choosing the right artificial fly) and "catch and release," and

also the outlook of the family that learned to camp, canoe and love the outdoors while Dad fished. For 40 years this affair has been going on—but I'm not jealous.

Katherine Schmidt
Schenectady, N.Y.

Cramer overlooks the worst hazard of all for the fly-fisherman's wife: he will decide to retire to the bug-infested fishing camp in Forsaken, Mont., and expect her to do the same.

Lois Foster
Springfield, Va.

Double-Talk

The discrepancies in the quotations you provide [WORLD, Aug. 7] from Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and P.L.O. chairman Yasser Arafat lead me to conclude that all outside powers should stand back from the Middle East and allow the two sides to settle their dispute in whatever way they wish.

Edward J. Cooper
Chicago

The P.L.O. leader and the head of the Israeli government are portrayed as political equals—in stature, responsibility and capacity for error. To criticize them equally not only shows remarkable courage but also reflects the dramatic changes that have taken place in American public opinion since the start of the *intifadeh*.

Laura Drake
San Rafael, Calif.

Although political double-talk and lies are indefensible, no country, democratic or totalitarian, is without them. What troubles me is that while Shamir is the democratically elected Prime Minister of a legitimate state, Arafat is not the head of government of any nation or even the Palestinian people, but only the leader of a terrorist group. By treating him equally, you cloak him with a legitimacy to which he is not entitled.

Gerald S. Shacter
San Luis Obispo, Calif.

Popping the Question

Some readers objected to TIME's asking if Diane Sawyer is worth her reported $1.6 million-a-year contract. Twenty-eight accused us of sexism; a few said we would never make such an issue of a man's salary. Actually, in 1980 we did take a close look at TV anchorman Dan Rather and his $8 million, five-year contract.

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A toast best undrunk

A votre santé! Nazdrovya! Skoal! L'chayim! Kompai! Slainte! To your health!

In any language, the words that make up a toast celebrate the wish for a long, healthy, prosperous life. Which is as it should be, since toasts are usually offered in connection with a joyous occasion.

But not always, unfortunately. And no, this isn't going to be an essay on the dangers of overindulgence, or substance abuse, or even driving while intoxicated, serious as these problems are. Instead, we're about to offer a friendly word or two of advice to White House counselor C. Boyden Gray. Please, Mr. Gray, don't do it. Don't follow through on the offer you have made a number of times to engage in a sort of drinking contest. You keep saying you are prepared to drink twice as much methanol as any amount of gasoline an oil company executive chooses to ingest. You apparently feel methanol is an environmentally sounder fuel than gasoline, and that it's safer than gasoline.

Your feelings about the virtues of alcohol fuels are well known. In fact, we've read that you were one of the driving forces behind the President's recent proposal to mandate that a fleet of alternative-fuel vehicles be on the highways by 1997. We happen to differ with such a mandate, for lots of reasons. Even so, we feel the President has every right to select his own counsel, and we therefore have no desire to deprive him of your continued service. In that spirit—no pun intended—we repeat our plea: Just say no to drinking methanol.

Here are some of the reasons why methanol—or wood alcohol—shouldn't be anybody's cup of tea:

- Last March, in the city of Baroda, India, at least 100 people died, and more than twice that number became severely ill. Indian news agencies reported the victims had ingested homemade liquor containing—you guessed it—wood alcohol.
- In 1987, in China, a farmer was executed and another man was sent to prison for life for selling liquor containing methanol, the official Chinese press reported. Their brew killed 24 people, blinded four, and sent 447 to the hospital.
- That same year, in Texas, an elderly man passed around some moonshine in a bar, and two other old-timers who drank it died as a result. The dispenser of the dubious gift and seven others wound up in a hospital with methanol poisoning.
- Many still remember the Italian scandal of three years ago, in which 23 people died after drinking methanol-tainted wine.

The point is, methanol is dangerous stuff, not fit to be swallowed. Sure, drinking gasoline can cause serious injury and even death. But the quantities have to be relatively large. Only an ounce or two of methanol can cause blindness, and even half an ounce has been fatal in some cases.

So we sincerely hope that Mr. Gray backs off on his challenge. But just in case he insists on going through with it, we have one more bit of advice for him.

Among the antidotes for methanol poisoning, we're told, is ethanol—grain alcohol—taken orally every hour on the hour for a prescribed length of time, under medical supervision. But the antidote notwithstanding, Mr. Gray should be discouraged from imbibing his methanol cocktail. Even without an olive, that particular drink happens to be the pits.

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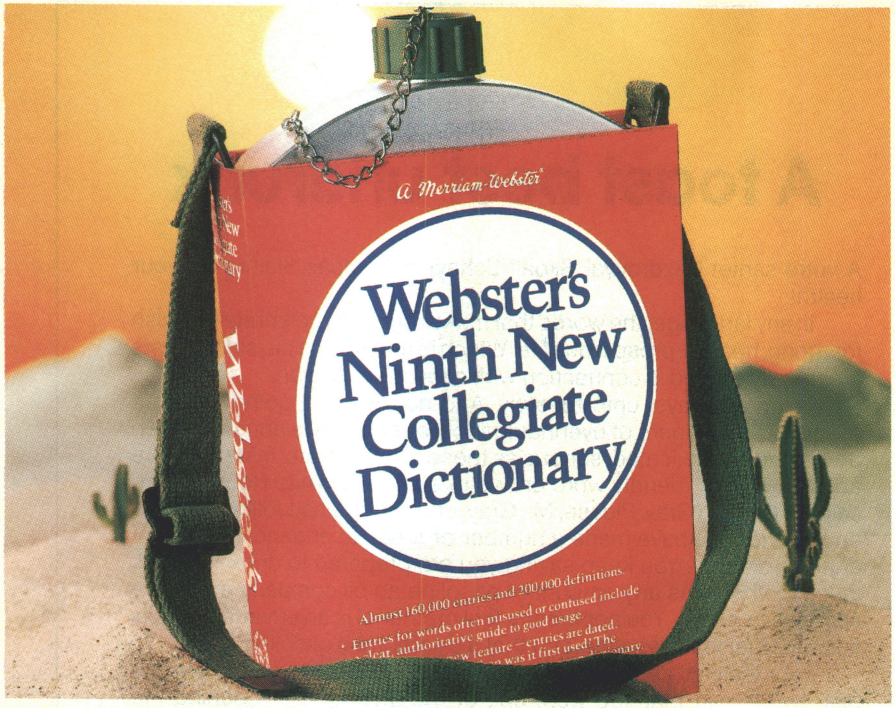

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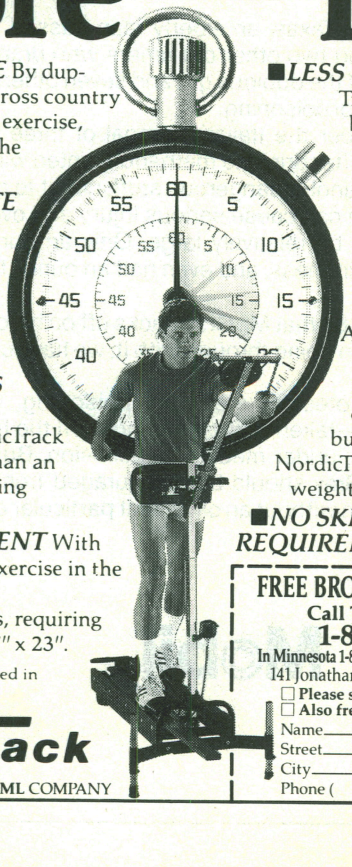

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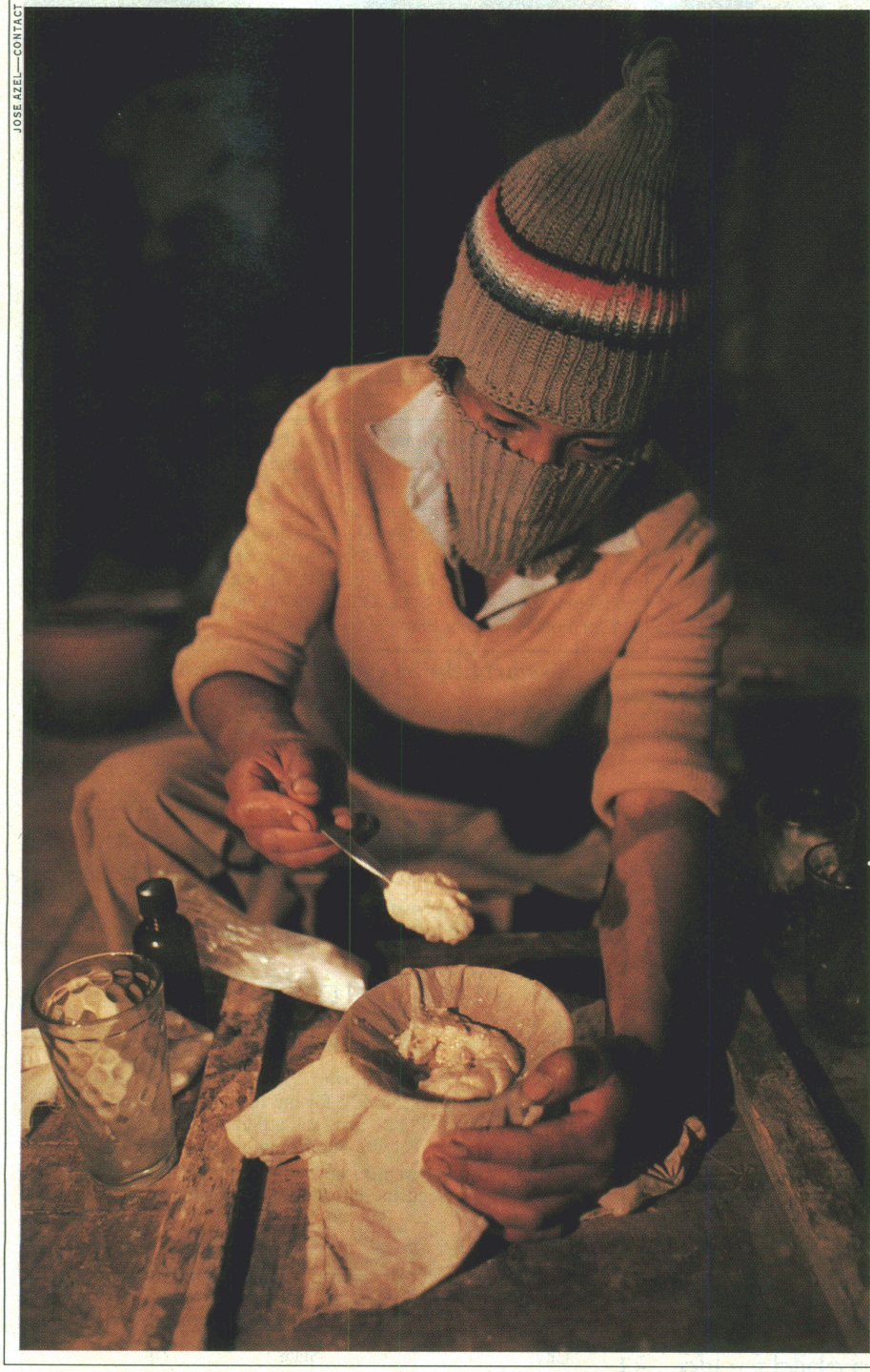
TIME/AUGUST 28, 1989

Attacking the Source

Bennett's plan to send military advisers to aid anti-narcotics campaigns in Peru and Bolivia arouses serious worries in Washington



JOSE AZEL—CONTACT

BY ELAINE SHANNON

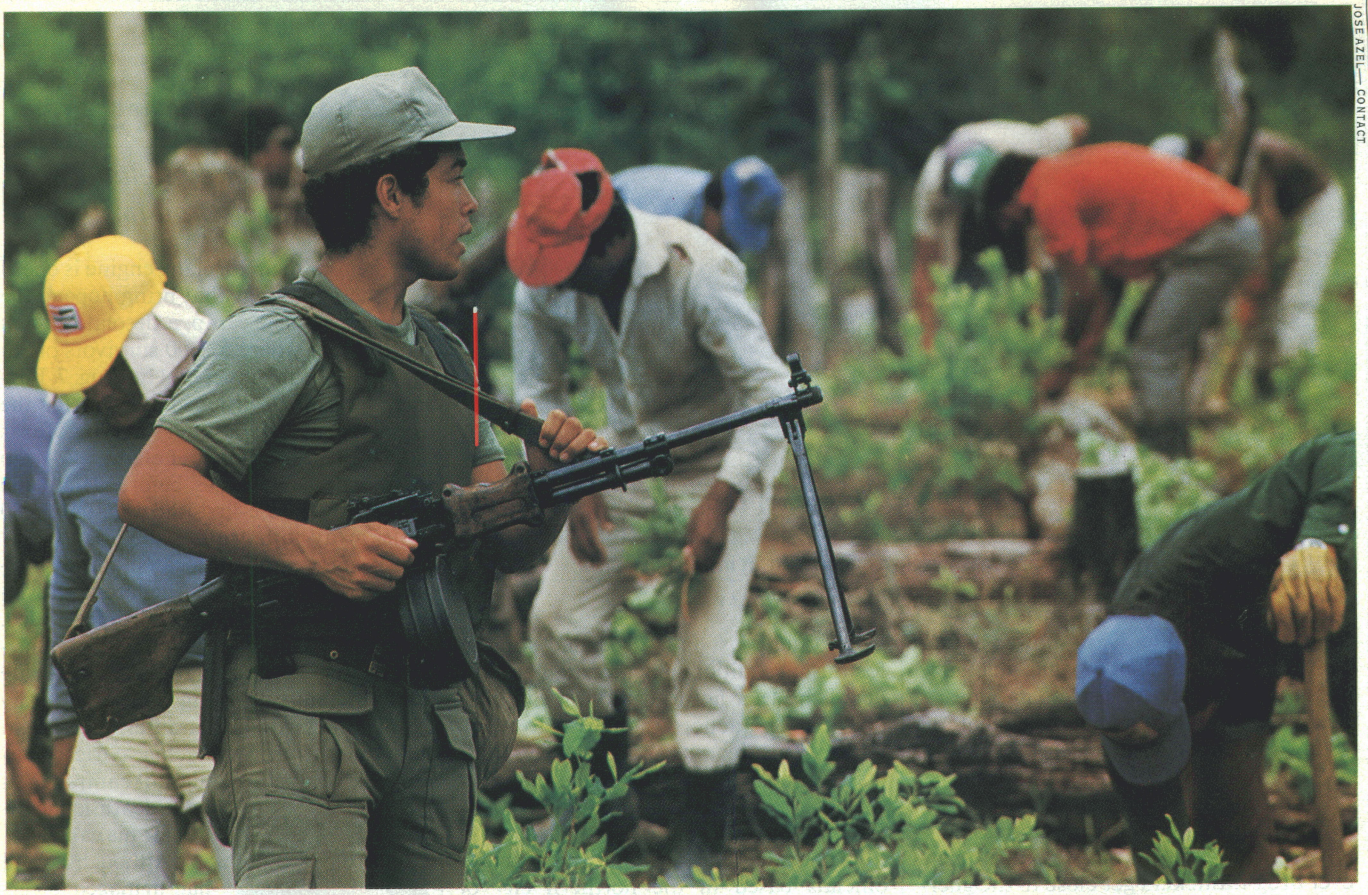
Meeting with Latin American police officials last spring, George Bush vowed to pursue drug traffickers "to the ends of the earth." If the Upper Huallaga Valley in Peru can be considered one of the ends of the earth—and as an area of mostly trackless jungle, it qualifies—the President was speaking literally. Today two U.S. State Department bulldozers are cutting a landing strip on the banks of the Huallaga River 300 miles northeast of Lima. From this base, the Peruvian National Police and U.S. drug-enforcement agents will mount paramilitary strikes on the valley's coca-processing centers and the airstrips used to fly out cocaine.

Later, the Drug Enforcement Administration people may be joined by U.S. military advisers. Under a plan promoted by William Bennett, director of national drug-control policy, the advisers are to train Peruvian soldiers in the art of "low-intensity" warfare against the Maoist Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path) guerrillas who control the Upper Huallaga. The insurgents finance their rebellion in part with fees from coca growers and refiners in the valley; U.S. intelligence reports say that lately they have directly gone into the coca-refining business.

Bennett's plan is part of a broader Andean initiative that would expand economic and military aid not only to Peru—source of more than half of the world's coca—but also to Bolivia and Colombia. That initiative, in turn, is part of an overall antidrug plan that calls for stiffer penalties against casual users, such as loss of a driver's license or of federal student loans. Already the plan is raising questions in Congress and even parts of the Administration. As the battle against drugs escalates, so will the complicating side effects, particularly in U.S. foreign policy.

The first complication is cost. Bennett proposes to increase antidrug expenditures about $1 billion, with $100 million to

At a makeshift lab in Cuzco, Peru, a masked worker displays coca paste made for smoking



JOSE AZEL—CONTACT

A Peruvian soldier guarding workers eradicating the Huallaga Valley coca crop before guerrilla attacks forced suspension of program in February

Where could the U.S. send advisers and run no risk of casualties? Nowhere, State Department aides told the boss.

$270 million going into a superfund to finance the Andean initiative. Bush last week embraced Bennett's plan in broad outline, calling it "balanced, decisive, effective and achievable." The President was vague about where he would get the money, though he spoke of "reallocation of resources," meaning shifting funds from other programs.

Even if Bush does find the money, critics in and outside of the Administration wonder whether the Andean initiative will accomplish much. Peru will find it difficult to wean or bully its farmers from the cocaine trade unless economic growth opens markets for alternative products. But Peru's gross domestic product shrank 28% in the first quarter of 1989, and inflation has been running at 25% a month. In Bolivia officials contend that they need $300 million to $500 million a year to develop legitimate alternatives for coca-farming peasants. That is considerably more than Bennett proposes to spend on the whole region. Democratic Congressman Larry Smith of Florida voices a typical congressional opinion: "I'm wary of sending large chunks of money to any country that doesn't demonstrate the capability of being able to use it properly."

The military aspects of the plan, however, are stirring the most misgivings. To fulfill Bush's campaign promise to "attack drugs at the source," more and heavier U.S. weapons would be dispatched to Colombia, and more arms and men to Peru and Bolivia. In Colombia drug gangsters killed three officials last week: gunmen assassinated Senator Luis Carlos Galán, a leading presidential candidate; the Medellín provincial police chief, and a local judge. The focus of the U.S. effort, though, would be on Peru, where attempts to eradicate the coca crop have been stalled since February because of attacks by guerrillas and traffickers. Some 34 eradication workers have been killed in the Upper Huallaga Valley since 1983. In May a DEA agent, five State Department contract employees and two Peruvian eradication officials died in a plane crash there. Until six months ago, the Peruvian army kept to its barracks in the Upper Huallaga, leaving Sendero insurgents free to terrorize the local populace. Now the army, trying to fight the guerrillas first, is ignoring the traffickers.

While the presence of U.S. military personnel in any Latin American nation is always a sensitive issue, Peruvian military leaders are desperate to turn back Sendero guerrillas. "I will take help from anyone who offers it," says a top Peruvian officer. In fact, contingents of American Green Berets have already been sent to Peru and Bolivia to train antinarcotics police units in countersubversion and jungle warfare.

Even so, Bennett's plan has stirred qualms within the Administration. Attorney General Dick Thornburgh worries about militarizing antidrug operations abroad. Says a Justice Department official: "Law-enforcement officers are trained to extract criminals from society, to think about the rights of innocent people and to be mindful of the sovereignty of other nations. Military forces are trained to take on whatever gets in the way, to destroy the enemy."

Secretary of State James Baker is said to have expressed concern that American soldiers will be easy targets for terrorists. When aid to Peru came up at a Cabinet meeting, Baker reportedly asked his aides to pick another country, where the U.S. would not have to worry about casualties (they could not find one).

And at the Pentagon, the Andean initiative raises inevitable whispers about another endless war in the jungle against elusive guerrillas. Bennett aides reply that the American soldiers will not go out on raids or act as field commanders in the manner of U.S. military advisers in Viet Nam.

THE BIG SUPPLIERS

1989 production in metric tons

Coca leaves	
Peru	110,000
Bolivia	70,000
Columbia	20,000
Opium	
Burma	1,300
Afghanistan	750
Iran	300
Laos	250
Marijuana	
Mexico	4,750
Columbia	2,700
Jamaica	400

JOSE AZEL—CONTACT

First step in cocaine making: coca leaves soak in a maturation pit in Colombia

When antidrug campaigns collide with geopolitics, geopolitics wins.

Says an official: "Viet Nam showed us that we can't do in a country what a country doesn't want to do for itself. That doesn't mean we can't help democracies that are young and fragile to solve a problem."

The initiative may run into obstacles on the scene too. For one thing, Peruvian army officials say their primary mission is to defeat the Sendero movement. "Wherever drug traffickers get close to the guerrillas, we will get them," says one. "But don't ask us to go against the people growing coca." Another obstacle is corruption. DEA agents and Upper Huallaga residents say traffickers pay "landing fees" to certain police officials to use local airstrips.

Nonetheless, the DEA is already plunging ahead with Operation Snowcap, a hemisphere-wide program that shifts emphasis from crop eradication to search-and-destroy missions against clandestine labs, airstrips, riverboats and warehouses. Last year DEA chief John Lawn, U.S. Ambassador Alexander Watson and Peruvian officials agreed to build a secure base for Snowcap activities in the Upper Huallaga. The deal called for the U.S. to haul bulldozers to a settlement called Santa Lucia, where an airstrip would be cleared so that cargo planes could land supplies. The State Department, however, objected to having U.S. Army Engineers air-drop the bulldozers; diplomats warned against political backlash if American military personnel were spotted in the valley. The final deal, worked out after Lawn brought the impasse to Bush's attention: State borrowed two bulldozers from a U.S. Agency for International Development project and had the Santa Lucia airstrip under way by early July.

South America is not the only place where the U.S. is putting pressure on friendly governments to crack down on the drug trade. But where the drug fight runs counter to other foreign policy objectives, the record is decidedly mixed. Standout example: in Burma the State Department last fall suspended support for Burma's antiopium campaign and ordered the DEA not to deal with Burmese officials. The action was meant to register displeasure with a repressive military regime, but some DEA agents contend that it disrupted still productive DEA-Burmese operations.

In Thailand DEA agents and consular officials based in the northern city of Chiangmai said the U.S. should seriously consider shutting down an antidrug program. Reason: official corruption had gone so far that heroin was sometimes being transported in Thai police vehicles or even army helicopters, making the program a joke. The embassy, however, decided to live with the problem because it could see no alternative.

Prospects have brightened in Pakistan and Mexico. Haji Mirza Iqbal Baig, described as a heroin kingpin, surrendered to Pakistani police in early August; they hope he will help convict other powerful smugglers. In Mexico President Carlos Salinas de Gortari is prosecuting some formerly untouchable drug lords and officials, notably José Antonio Zorrilla Pérez, the feared former chief of the Federal Security Directorate. But the State Department and the DEA are split over what to do about Cuba. State officials dismiss the executions of General Arnaldo Ochoa Sanchez and three other officers, allegedly for drug trafficking, as being really intended to destroy Fidel Castro's rivals. DEA officials argue that whatever Castro's motives, his antidrug posturing should be exploited.

Where U.S. geopolitical interests collide with drug policy, geopolitics usually wins. Bennett's plan may change that. After years of complaining that Washington was not serious about the drug fight, the public may soon learn the cost of fighting a full-scale war—at home and abroad. —***With reporting by Sharon Stevenson/ Lima, and other bureaus***

Late Honors

In death, Mickey Leland won allies he rarely had in life

The roar of an airplane engine is one of the few things that bring hope to the Fugnido refugee camp, a desolate stretch of Ethiopia where 57,000 survivors of Sudan's civil war subsist. But on Aug. 7, Fugnido's residents listened in vain for the sound of the Twin Otter carrying Texas Congressman Mickey Leland, 44, who had visited five times before. His plane had crashed nose-first into a mountain 30 miles away, killing all 16 aboard.

When searchers located the disintegrated plane last week, the late-night vigils in Leland's Capitol Hill office ended, and the Washington practice of canonizing its own began. Leland, who in his life had difficulty dragging colleagues away from junkets to Paris and Bermuda to join him on trips to Appalachia, Africa, Indian reservations and migrant camps, finally in death found allies for his cause.

HARTLEY—HOUSTON POST

The crusader

Although Leland had managed to persuade the House to create the Select Committee on Hunger and make him its chairman in 1984, famine lost its luster once the strains of *We Are the World* faded and the television lights went off. There is little money or prestige in hunger. Leland earned $22,650 in special-interest speech-giving fees in 1988; Illinois Congressman Dan Rostenkowski, chairman of the tax-writing Ways and Means Committee, earns nearly ten times as much as that. Laying guilt trips on colleagues until they provided $800 million for starving Africans during the sub-Saharan famine in 1985 did not ease Leland's entry into the insider's club. When he spent a night with Washington's homeless in the winter of 1987, it was criticized as a publicity stunt.

Leland's successes came in part because he was hard not to like, and he would not give up. The dashiki he wore in the Texas legislature gave way to Armani suits, the clenched fist to working within the system. After persuading New Jersey Republican Congresswoman Margaret Roukema to join him on a trip to Africa in 1984, Leland got in to see Ronald Reagan, who then agreed to support more foreign food aid and order ships loaded with grain to head for Ethiopia. Leland leaves his wife Alison, who is two months pregnant, a son—and a world less hungry than it would have been without him. ■

A Father Lifts His "Burdens"

A tale of tragedy turns into a multiple murder

The dazed father's story sounded plausible. On Aug. 3, Lawrence DeLisle, 28, took his family for an evening ride along the Detroit River. The two older children, Bryan, 8, and Melissa, 4, sat in the back of the family's 1977 Ford station wagon. Snuggled beside them in a child's safety seat was Kathryn, 21 months. While DeLisle drove, his wife Suzanne, 32, sat in front with nine-month-old Emily, also in an infant's seat.

As their car neared the river on Eureka Avenue in Wyandotte, a Detroit suburb, DeLisle complained of leg cramps. He backed the car away from the street's dead end, stopped to buy some crackers and said he felt better. Shortly before 9:20 p.m., he drove toward the river again. Suddenly DeLisle felt a cramp in his right leg, which stiffened, jamming his foot against the accelerator. As he tried to hit the brake with his left foot, his shoe wedged between the pedal and the accelerator. Frantically, Suzanne grabbed for the ignition key and gearshift to stop the speeding vehicle.

It was too late. The car crashed through a wooden barrier at an estimated 45 m.p.h. As witnesses watched its one working taillight disappear in water 30 ft. deep, first DeLisle and then his wife splashed to the surface. Luckily, two men in a powerboat saw the couple and pulled them to safety. Divers hit the water six minutes after police were called, but none of the four children could be revived.

Acquaintances described DeLisle, who earned $31,200 a year as a service manager for a tire store, as hardworking and quiet. His wife, who had studied criminal justice in college, was rarely seen without the children. Wyandotte police chief Edward Rothermal assured the Detroit *Free Press,* "This was a loving couple, good family people." Hundreds of area residents left toys and flowers at the accident site, in memory of the lost children and in sympathy for the parents.

But Wyandotte detective sergeant Dan Galeski found problems in DeLisle's story. The father reportedly said he got out of a car window only after the wheels touched the bottom of the river. In fact, the current had flipped the auto onto its roof. Some witnesses said they saw DeLisle in the water while the taillight was still visible. Others reported that a day earlier, a car with one taillight had moved slowly along the dead-end street.

During a lie-detector test, DeLisle broke down, admitting that he had deliberately driven into the river. Why? According to Galeski, he wanted "to get rid of his present burdens: his wife and his children." DeLisle, who owes some $13,000 in bills and loans, was charged with four counts of murder and one of attempted murder.

As anger at the father was added to sorrow for the children, Wyandotte residents last week were still visiting the site on Eureka Avenue. One young woman carefully placed four tiny stuffed animals beside the growing mound of pink carnations and red roses. —*By Ed Magnuson.*

Reported by Linda DiPietro/Detroit

YOUNG—THE DETROIT NEWS

THE DETROIT NEWS

DOZIER—THE DETROIT PRESS

The DeLisles' recovered car; their four children; they face the press. His story had problems

Grapevine

ROLE MODELS. Abandoned by Washington and their Honduran hosts, the anti-Communist Nicaraguan *contras* are drawing inspiration from a most unlikely source: El Salvador's Marxist Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front. *Contra* leaders say the "low-intensity, dirty war" the Salvadoran rebels wage, focusing on economic sabotage, is the way to go for guerrillas with limited resources.

DAUGHTER DEAREST II. If Patti Davis annoyed her parents Ronald and Nancy Reagan with her debut novel, *Home Front*—about a befuddled former Governor of California and his ambitious wife—she's sure to send them around the bend with her second book, *Deadfall.* Due out in October, it's a political potboiler with a familiar plot: a right-wing Administration searches for a pretext to invade Nicaragua. The characters include a fanatical CIA director, a colonel who stops at nothing and a President who becomes a willing pawn of the villains. So much for a family reconciliation.

GORMAN—GAMMA/LIAISON

Naughty novelist Davis: Daddy won't like it

"HOT RABBIT." What does Argentina's Carlos Saúl Menem have that his predecessor Raúl Alfonsín did not? Apparently, a long list of girlfriends. Two gossipy French magazines, *Le Nouvel Observateur* and *L'Evenement,* have said in print what Argentines had been whispering: that the new President is one "hot rabbit." *L'Evenement* dedicated two pages to the President's amorous adventures, quoting some of the many lovers he reportedly had before and during his 23-year marriage. Argentines must hope their new President is as good at foreign affairs as he is at domestic ones.

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BROWN—GAMMA/LIAISON

The Trident II during its only successful submarine launch

NAVY

Back to the Drawing Board

Tipped with twelve nuclear warheads and carrying a price tag of $26.5 million each, the Trident II submarine-launched missile is supposed to give the U.S. the ability to destroy Soviet ICBMs still nestled in their silos. But hopes for the Trident's scheduled deployment in 1990 were set back last week when the weapon exploded during a test firing on the open sea. It was the second failure in three attempts; embarrassed Navy officials admitted that the probable reason for the misfires was a design flaw that should have been corrected on the drawing board.

Because the new Trident is about 10 ft. longer and almost twice as heavy as the model it replaces, the missile leaves a more turbulent, gaseous wake as it rises to the ocean surface. But engineers miscalculated the amount of water that would rush into the vacuum under the missile's rocket nozzles. Investigators say these "water jets" interfere with Trident's trajectory and have led to the two mishaps. Their conclusion: the missile must be redesigned. Correcting Trident II could cost up to $20 million and delay its introduction for nearly a year. ■

AVIATION

Putting Fuel Near the Fire

Despite recent structural mishaps with McDonnell Douglas' problem-plagued DC-10 jumbo jet, the aircraft manufacturer plans to add an additional fuel tank beneath the rear engine of an updated version of the plane called the MD-11. Some startled pilots at Delta Air Lines—which is buying the new plane—are outraged that the designers would place 2,000 gal. of combustible fuel right under the same engine that disintegrated last month on a United Airlines DC-10. If the controversial fuel bladder had been on the ill-fated United plane when the engine disintegrated, the pilots say, the jet would have blown up at 35,000 ft.

Delta engineers and McDonnell Douglas say the extra tank inside the jet's horizontal stabilizer will better "trim" the plane in flight and is no more dangerous in the back of the plane than on the wing. "About all you'd get is a leak if an [engine] fragment went through that tank," claimed a McDonnell Douglas spokesman. ■

AIRLINES

Offensive Behavior

What with the increasing frequency of hydraulic-system failures and fares that change with the speed of the stock-market ticker, today's air traveler has lots to worry about. Now there's something else to check when settling into an airplane seat: Is your deodorant working properly?

USAir didn't think the personal hygiene of Randi Freeman and her husband Amir Omrani was up to snuff after they boarded a flight from Seattle to Pittsburgh last month. Airline personnel asked the couple to disembark, and a gate supervisor informed them that both the crew and assorted passengers had complained about their offensive body odor. Freeman and Omrani, an Iranian national, were given toiletries and sent to the washroom as the plane left without them.

Government rules allow airlines the right to refuse transport to passengers whom they deemed to be "offensive." The allegedly malodorous pair were placed on a later flight, but Freeman is crying foul. She claims that USAir simply wanted to clear two seats on an overbooked plane, and has demanded an apology from the company's president plus the cost of two first-class tickets from New York to Los Angeles for the embarrassing episode. Says she: "On the next flight, I asked a woman if we smelled, and she said no." ■

GARY WALTS—SYRACUSE NEWSPAPERS

Omrani and Freeman with their "gift bag"

FIREARMS

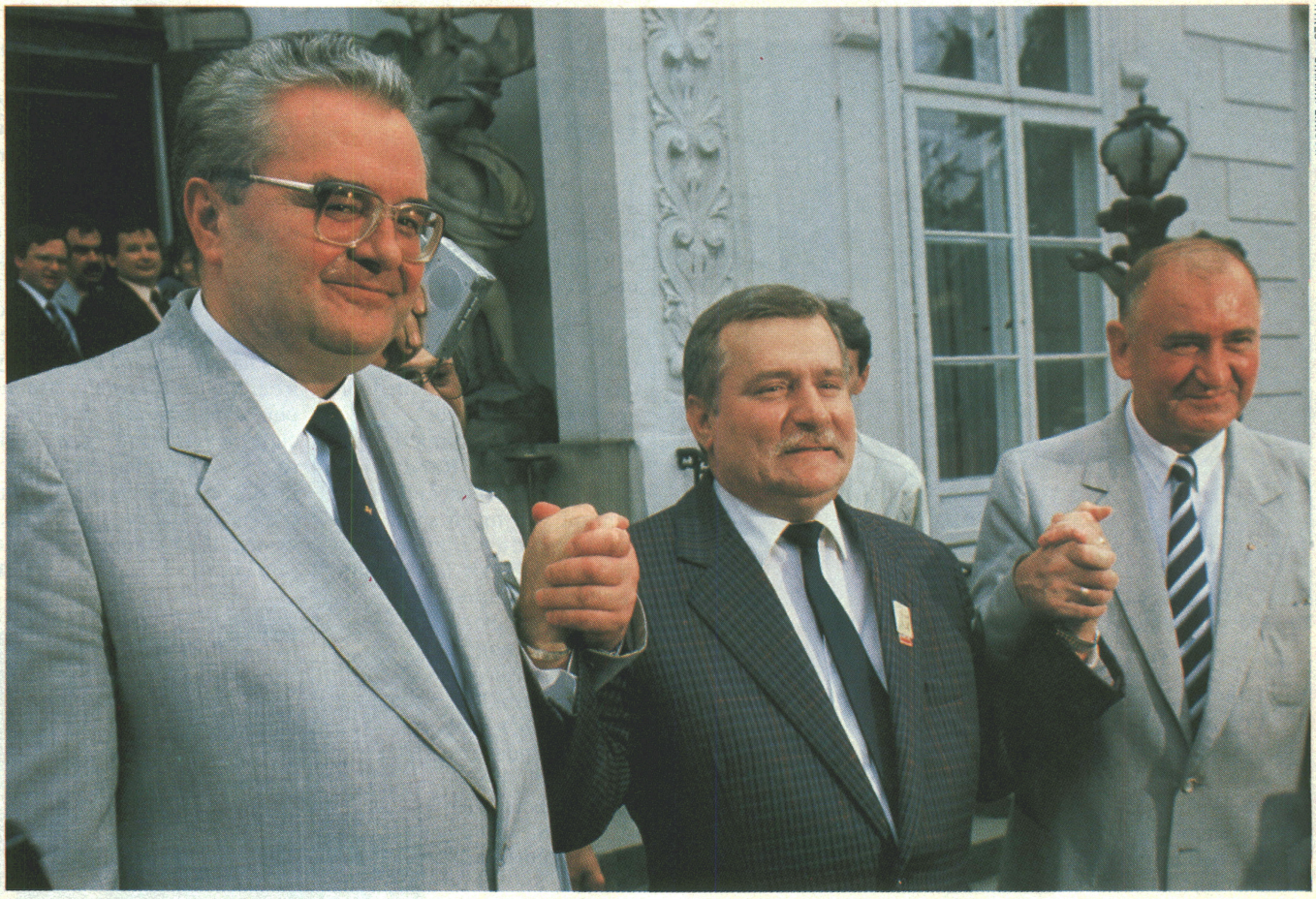
Bring Home A Friend

Having served one's country abroad, each discharged soldier should have the right to bring home a submachine gun as "small recompense for the isolation, the boredom and the risk of overseas duty." So argues the National Rifle Association in a letter to drug czar William Bennett, who championed the ban on imported semiautomatic rifles. Bennett, the N.R.A. letter gratuitously points out, was neither isolated nor at risk during his draft-vulnerable years at the height of the Viet Nam War but instead was engaged in "scholarly pursuits" as a graduate student.

Assistant N.R.A. counsel James Warner says he only meant to describe the life of a soldier to Bennett and explain why bringing back a semiautomatic weapon "bought in good faith" is so important to G.I.s. Is Bennett going to answer Warner's letter soon? No, says Bennett's office. Is he ever going to answer Warner's letter? "Basically, the answer is no." ■

MARTY KATZ

For a U.S. soldier, the perfect souvenir of an overseas tour?



HIRES—GAMMA/LIAISON

New deal: Walesa with partners Roman Malinowski of the United Peasants and Jerzy Jozwiak of the Democratic Party

POLAND

An Epochal Shift

Communism yields as Jaruzelski asks Solidarity to head a government

BY MARGUERITE JOHNSON

For months, Poland's Communist Party had been losing its grip on power. Beset by strikes, debt ridden, repudiated by an overwhelming majority of voters in elections in June, the regime was drained of the ability to govern. After more than 40 years in power, the old order staggered toward its demise. And yet the alternative seemed inconceivable. Never in Europe's postwar history had a Communist government handed authority over to a non-Communist opposition.

Suddenly last week, the inconceivable happened. After a spate of parliamentary maneuvering by the Solidarity trade-union movement, President Wojciech Jaruzelski, who smashed Solidarity in 1981 and interned its leader, Lech Walesa, along with more than 6,000 other members, was forced to turn to his foes to form a government. Jaruzelski asked Tadeusz Mazowiecki, 62, a Solidarity lawyer and journalist, to become the first non-Communist Prime Minister in the Soviet bloc since 1948 and to head up a ruling coalition.

At week's end Walesa and Mazowiecki, along with other union leaders, met in Gdansk to plan their next steps. At the same time, the Central Committee of the Communist Party, officially known as the Polish United Workers' Party, convened in Warsaw to discuss Jaruzelski's move. Poland's official news agency, P.A.P., reported that the President will send the Prime Minister's name to the Sejm, or lower house of parliament, early this week for ratification.

Although Mazowiecki's appointment opened a new chapter in Polish history, the Communists still retained formidable power. Even before Mazowiecki was tapped by the President, Solidarity told the Communists they would continue to hold the key Defense and Interior Ministry—and perhaps the Foreign Minis-

try—portfolios in any new government, and Walesa assured Moscow that Poland would remain a member of the Warsaw Pact. The Communists also retained their monopoly on positions within the bloated bureaucracy.

Nonetheless, last week's seismic developments in Poland reverberated from Moscow to Washington and beyond. The Kremlin said Jaruzelski's decision was Poland's business, but the success—or failure—of a government led by a non-Communist in Warsaw is bound to have an impact on Mikhail Gorbachev's political reforms in the Soviet Union. The West applauded carefully, wary that too hearty a response might be considered meddling that could unbalance the delicate experiment. "We would encourage a non-Communist government in the process of pluralism, of course," said presidential spokesman Marlin Fitzwater. But George Bush "would not want to do anything or say anything to upset the applecart."

In the past, said Adrian Hyde-Price of London's Royal Institute of International Affairs, "the Soviets would have invaded by now." This time, most Western analysts are convinced, Moscow will allow Poland to try a pluralistic approach—as long as the new, Solidarity-led government honors its pledge not to leave the Warsaw Pact. "As long as Gorbachev is in power, there will be no direct interference," predicted Hartmut Jaeckel, a Polish specialist at the Free University of Berlin.

Above all, the events were a remarkable victory for Walesa and for Solidarity, only four months ago a banned organization. The daring and imagination that led to the dramatic developments came largely from Walesa, who shrewdly seized an opportunity to precipitate the change in government by wooing away the Communists' junior parliamentary partners. Walesa then wisely refrained from seeking the Prime Minister's job himself, preferring to work behind the scenes and perhaps eventually make a bid for the presidency.

The turning point came in June, when Solidarity won an overwhelming victory in Poland's most open elections in four decades. The trade-union movement took all 161 seats it was allowed to contest in the Sejm, and 99 of the 100 seats in the Senate. Even so, the Communist Party and its allies, principally the United Peasants' Party and the Democratic Party, retained 299 seats in the 460-member Sejm through a reserved list.

But just as the Communists misjudged their standing with the electorate, they misjudged their allies. The United Peasants and the Democrats, both of which aligned with the Communists after World War II, began pondering their own future in light of Solidarity's sweep. Some of their Deputies began arguing for a break with the regime, to build a political base independent of the Communists in time for the next elections. On July 19 the National Assembly elected Jaruzelski as President, but only with the help of seven senior Solidarity parliamentarians. Eleven Deputies from the Communist alliance voted against him.

Six days later, Walesa met with Jaruzelski and proposed that Solidarity form a government. The new President said no. Instead he invited Solidarity to join a grand coalition government headed by the Communists. Walesa refused. Soon thereafter Jaruzelski stepped down as Communist Party leader in favor of Mieczyslaw Rakowski. The President asked Czeslaw Kiszczak, who has been Interior Minister since 1981, to form a new government. By Aug. 7, Kiszczak had still been unable to do so, and Walesa once again called for a Solidarity-led government. This time he pitched his appeal directly to the United Peasants and the Democrats.

By then the public's tolerance for political infighting was wearing thin. At the same time, a government economic-reform plan had taken effect, causing food prices to shoot up dramatically. Solidarity leaders recognized that their movement would suffer if it stood by while the economy spiraled out of control.

The first real crack in the Communist façade appeared early last week when Kiszczak announced that he was handing over the task of forming a government to Roman Malinowski, president of the Peasants' Party. Jaruzelski never asked Malinowski to form a government; perhaps he calculated that Malinowski would have been unacceptable to Solidarity because of his association with the 1981 martial-law crackdown.

With Kiszczak preparing to bow out, the Solidarity leadership circulated a statement to Peasants' and Democratic Deputies calling on them to join in "a government of national responsibility under the leadership of Lech Walesa." That same night Solidarity legislators and members of the two junior partners in the Communist alliance met. Said Walesa: "I want to help the reform wings of the Peasants' Party and the Democratic Party to get into government and answer the call of the times."

Walesa's appeal won the day. The Deputies approved a resolution calling for a Solidarity-led government under Walesa's leadership. The new alliance, with a total of 264 seats in the Sejm, would thus have a majority over the Communists' 173. The next day Walesa, Malinowski and Democratic Party leader Jerzy Jozwiak called at Warsaw's Belvedere Palace, now the presidential residence. After Kiszczak presented his resignation to Jaruzelski, the three party leaders talked with the President for two hours.

Solidarity leaders said af-

In the Driver's Seat

CHIP HIRES—GAMMA/LIAISON

Tadeusz Mazowiecki

It could have happened to anybody, anytime, but for Tadeusz Mazowiecki the moment was rich with irony. The tall Solidarity official had just wound up meetings with President Jaruzelski and Józef Cardinal Glemp last week when his car sputtered to a halt. When questioned by reporters about the difficulties he would face as Poland's new Prime Minister, Mazowiecki answered, "My biggest problem is that I ran out of gas."

The comment was a rare flash of public humor from a man who at times has been perceived as taciturn, even dour. No one, however, questions Mazowiecki's integrity or the depth of his commitment to Solidarity. Perhaps as important, says an old friend, Adam Bromke, "he is a man who has the courage to say what is unpopular." Born in the central Polish town of Plock, Mazowiecki (pronounced Mah-zoh-*vyet*-skee), 62, is a devout Roman Catholic with strong ties to church activists who oppose Communist ideology. A close adviser to Lech Walesa, Mazowiecki helped form the union in 1980 and was jailed for a year after the government crackdown in 1981. Trained as a lawyer, he is editor of the union weekly, *Tygodnik Solidarnosc,* and was a key negotiator in the round-table talks that led to legalization of Solidarity and opposition participation in last June's elections.

A father of three sons, whose wife died of cancer in 1970, Mazowiecki is learning how to live in the media spotlight. When reporters asked who would serve in his government, he replied, "I have to think for a while. There is no time, but still I need some time." Then, as the cameras turned away, Mazowiecki seemed relieved. "Finally," he said, "I can have a smoke." ■

terward that Jaruzelski had accepted "in principle" their offer to form a government. The coalition proposed three Solidarity candidates: Mazowiecki, Bronislaw Geremek, the movement's parliamentary leader, and Jacek Kuron, a senior adviser. It soon became clear that Mazowiecki was Jaruzelski's choice. Said the Prime Minister–designate as he rushed from one meeting to another: "The most difficult task will be to make people think that [life] can be better—even though it cannot be better immediately."

That will be a tall order. Warsaw owes more than $39 billion to the West and 6 billion rubles to Soviet bloc countries. Interest payments alone amount to $3.5 billion annually. Inflation is running at more than 150% and will probably top 200% by year's end. Food supplies are sporadic at best. This month more strikes, some backed by Solidarity, have further damaged the economy.

Although virtually everyone in Poland recognizes the need for economic reforms, the country lacks the money, and has failed so far to demonstrate the political will, to make them. Old factories and unproductive coal mines must be closed,

CHRIS NIEDENTHAL

Communist Party chief Mieczyslaw Rakowski

Reluctant acceptance of the coalition.

meaning the loss of thousands of jobs. The Communist-dominated bureaucracy and army need to be cut back. Most problematical of all, as Mazowiecki said, living conditions will have to get even worse if they are ever to get better.

In Czechoslovakia, East Germany and Rumania, Solidarity's accession is likely to convince the Old Guard Communist regimes that any concessions to reform could lead to similar disaster for the ruling party. In Prague authorities were girding for the 21st anniversary this week of the 1968 Warsaw Pact invasion that ended the country's brief liberalization—an intervention that Poland's Sejm last week condemned. Said a Western diplomat in Budapest last week: "The hard-liners will point to Poland and say, 'That's where you finish up if you let the opposition get a foot in the door.' " In Hungary, where multiparty elections are due to be held soon, Geza Jeszenszky, a spokesman for the opposition Hungarian Democratic Forum, said the success of a Solidarity-led Polish government would probably "increase the confidence of the Hungarian voting public."

Solidarity's failure, however, could easily have the opposite effect. "Walesa is going to be criticized for certain," predicted Czech-born Zuzana Princova of London's Wharton Econometrics Forecasting Associates, "yet a lot of people have trust in him and really support him." But if Walesa and Mazowiecki are to keep Poland on its historic new course, they will also need outside help—from Washington as well as from Moscow. —***Reported by John Borrell/Warsaw***

Moscow Speaks Softly

Back in 1981, Moscow bristled in near fury at Solidarity. A "counterrevolution," snapped then Defense Minister Dmitri Ustinov. "A Trojan horse of imperialism!" cried the official media. As the trade union's protests roiled Poland, Soviet troops massed threateningly along the countries' common border. Finally, when General Wojciech Jaruzelski crushed Solidarity with martial law, TASS said approvingly, "The authorities are taking necessary measures to restore tranquillity."

How times change. Last week, as a member of Solidarity was about to become Prime Minister, Soviet officials said simply that it was an "internal" Polish matter. A Moscow television reporter noted that "it is necessary to form a new government as quickly as possible," then ticked off a short list of potential leaders that included Lech Walesa. The reaction was expected. Visiting Paris in July, Gorbachev had said, "How the Polish people . . . will decide to structure their society and lives will be their affair."

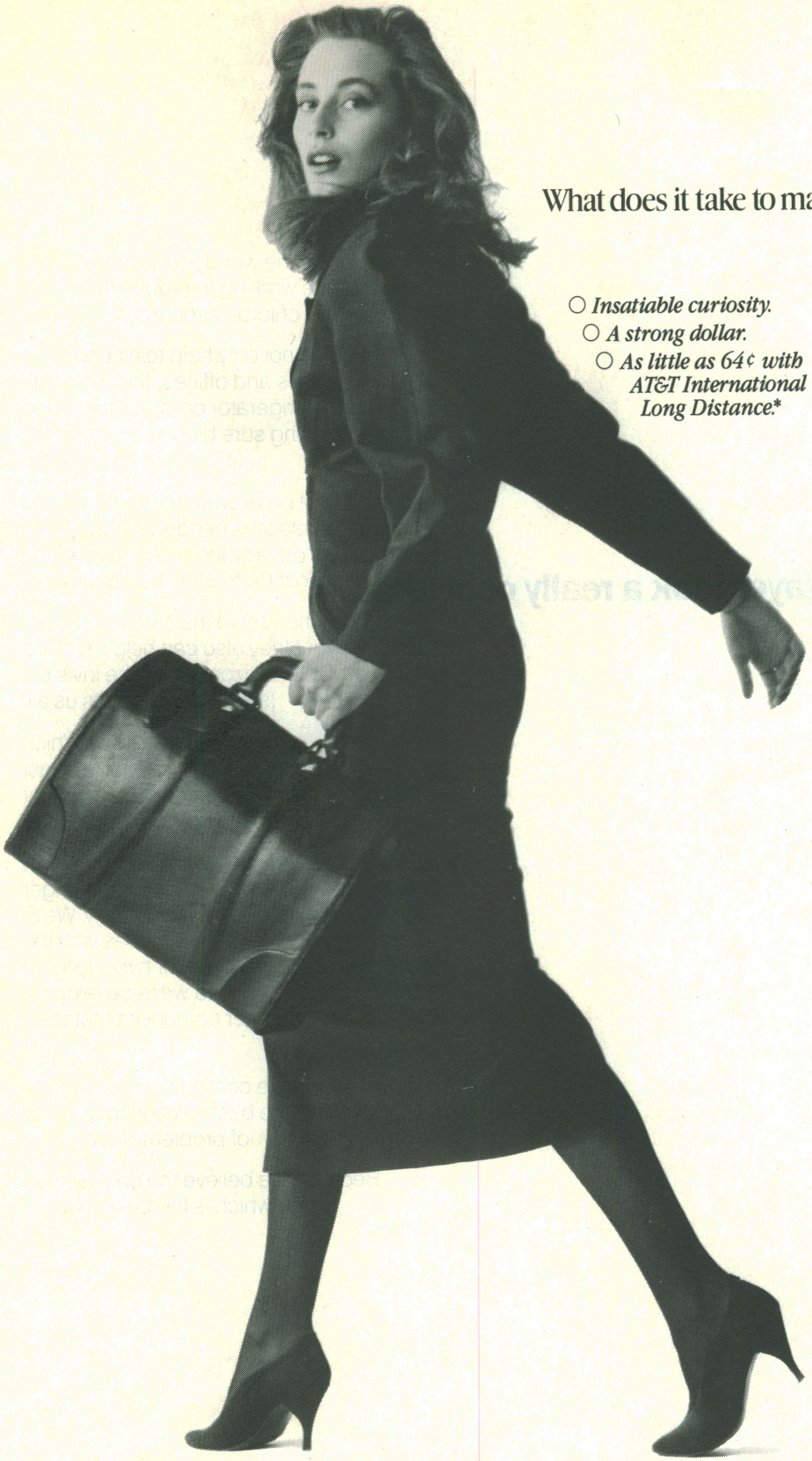
The Soviet inaction appeared to sound the death knell for a policy that took shape under Leonid Brezhnev. After the invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, the Soviet Union proclaimed that socialist countries had the right to invade a fellow socialist nation whenever the Communist political monopoly was threatened. The so-called Brezhnev Doctrine justified the tanks rolling into Prague and, by extension, Nikita Khrushchev's intervention in Hungary in 1956. But last December, Gorbachev announced that the "use or threat of force no longer can or must be an instrument of foreign policy."

NIEDENTHAL

And doesn't wield the big stick: Gorbachev and Jaruzelski in Szczecin

Andranik Migranyan, a Soviet intellectual, last week explicitly condemned the Brezhnev Doctrine in the reformist weekly Moscow *News*. Migranyan noted, however, that "the [democratic] processes going on in [Poland] may be properly understood by the Soviet Union only when Soviet foreign policy interests are not challenged." No one knows how Moscow's military hard-liners would have reacted had Walesa refused to leave the Defense and Interior ministries in Communist Party hands.

Soviet fears may also have been assuaged in July, when senior Solidarity leaders invalidated their votes and allowed Jaruzelski to be installed in the presidency, thus proving that the trade union was sensitive to geopolitical realities. The Kremlin may have changed its thinking since 1981, but Solidarity has changed as well. ■



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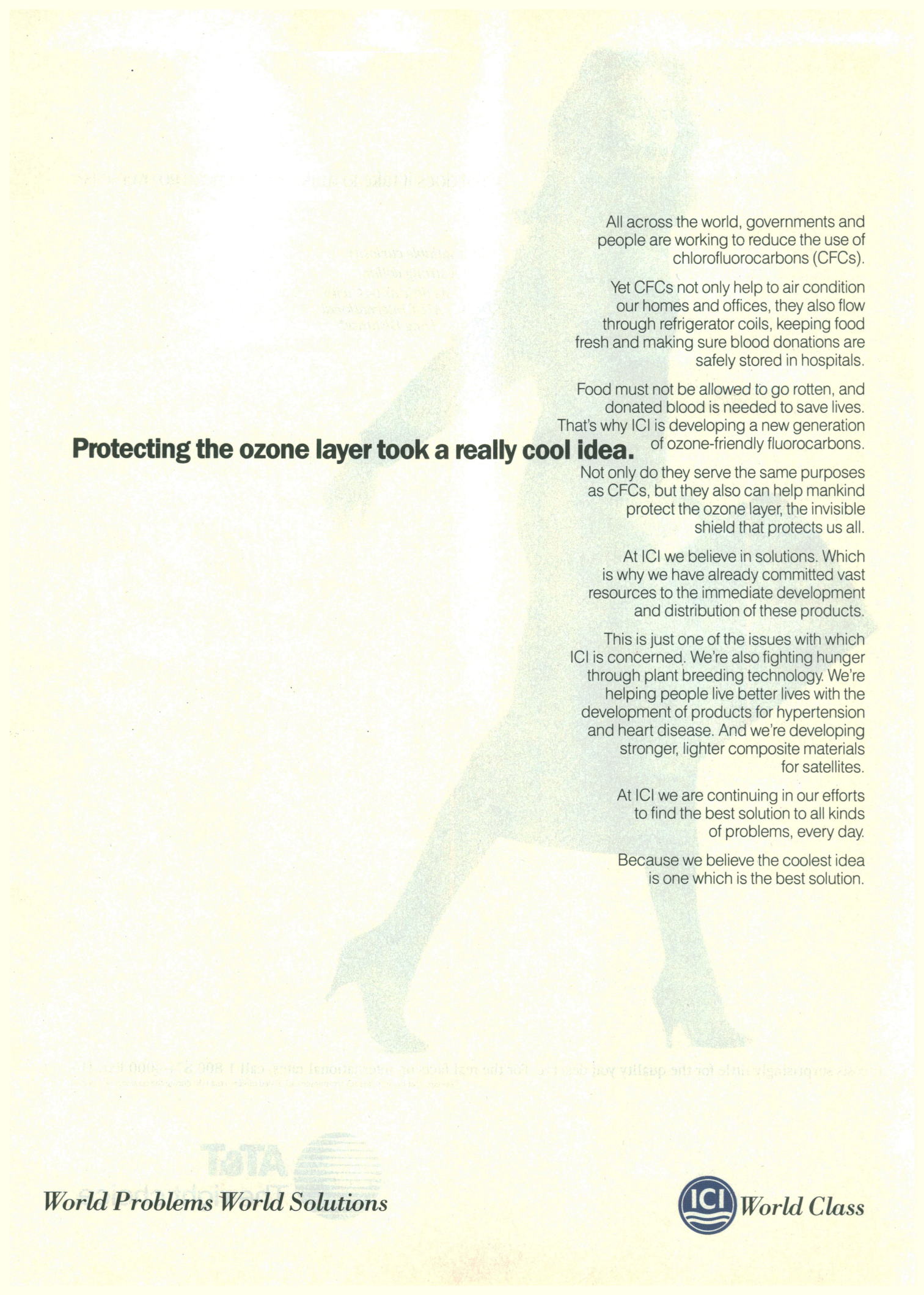

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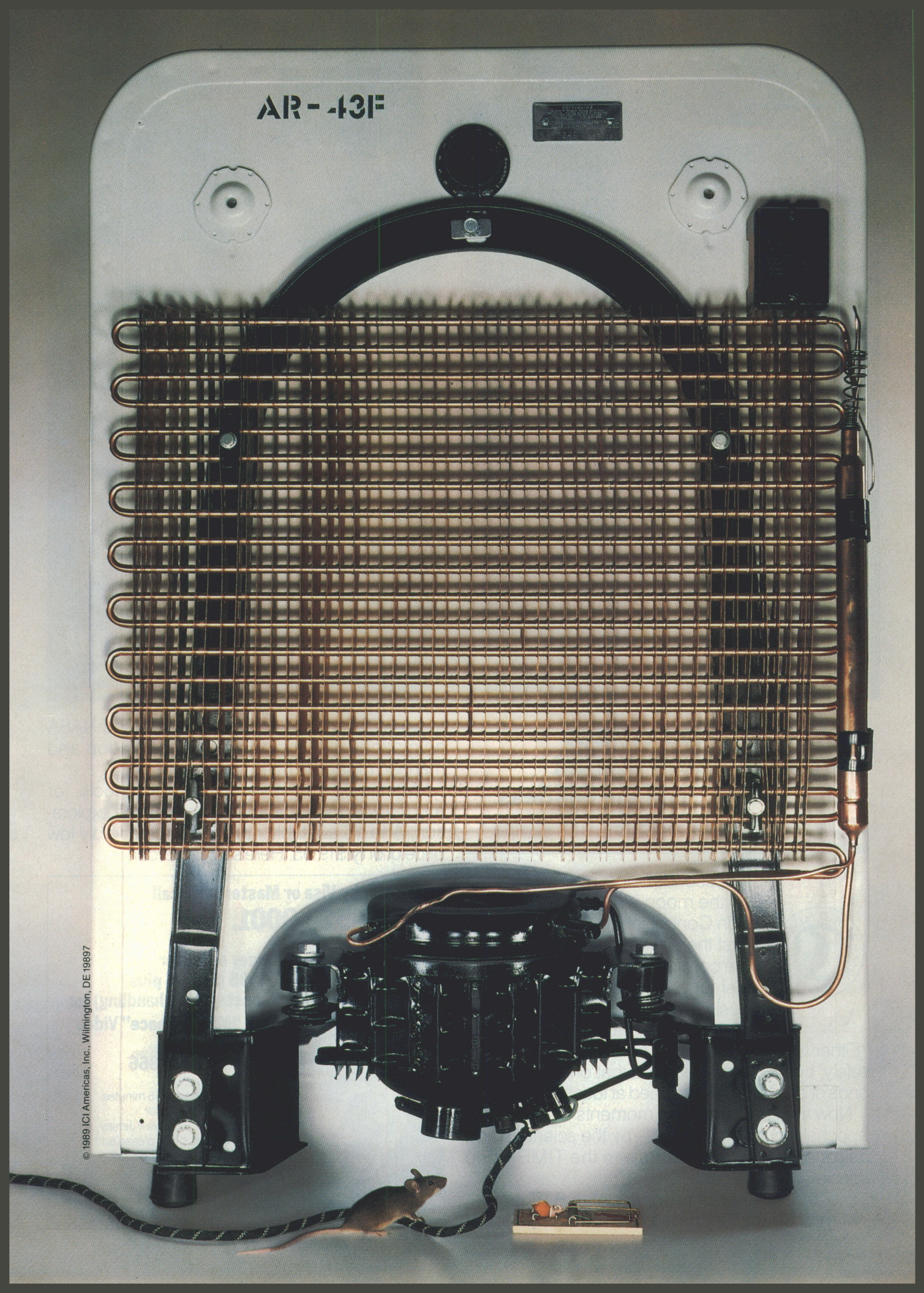

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"Either land now...or abort now!"

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LEBANON

A Preview of The Apocalypse

A war without end tests the limits of endurance in Beirut

D. AUBERT—SYGMA

Rain of fire and death: Syrian gunners bombard the Christian sector of the capital

"Is this meaningless war going to continue until the last Lebanese is dead?"

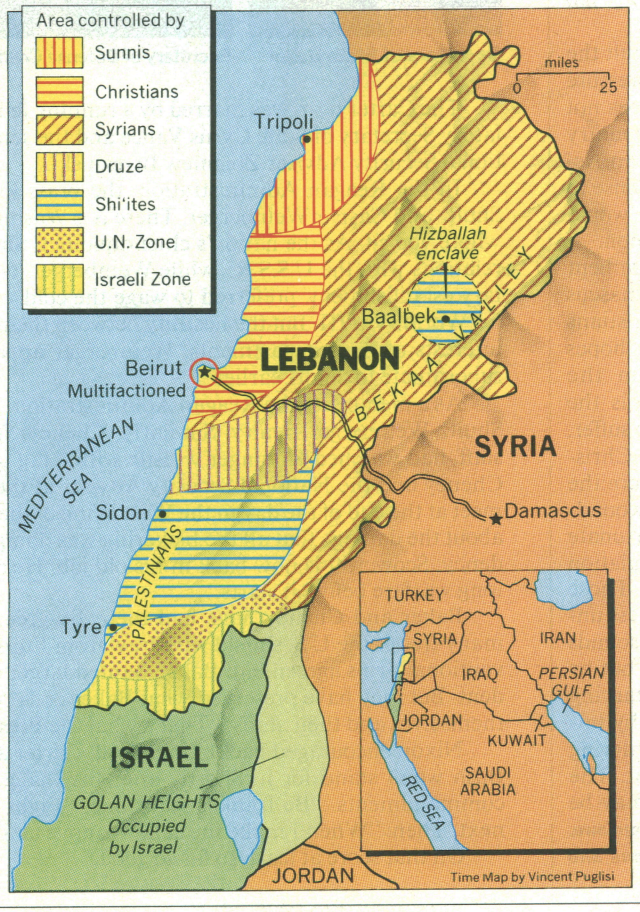
Factional strife has ripped Lebanon again and again over the past 14 years, numbing outrage at the carnage. But last week Beirut seemed to offer a grisly preview of the apocalypse. The fighting between Christian soldiers and Muslim and Syrian soldiers rose to a pitch that tested the limits of human endurance and forced the outside world to take notice. "Beirut is being wiped off the face of the earth," cried the Christian Voice of Lebanon radio. Rival Muslim station Voice of the Nation shared, at least, the agony. "Is this meaningless war going to continue until the last Lebanese is dead?"

It certainly seems that way. The ferocious shelling gave way only for lulls to permit both sides to reload. Calls for a cease-fire were drowned out by the volcanic bombardments. Western officials wrung their hands and made vain appeals to reason. But the sky continued to rain fire and death on the city in a prolonged paroxysm of violence.

There is not much the watching world can do to stop it. Bitterly stung by previous attempts to serve as a buffer among Lebanon's feuding militias, Europe and the U.S. steered clear of direct intervention, appealing instead for a campaign of international pressure to quiet the guns. The U.N. Security Council urged an immediate cease-fire. Pope John Paul II blamed Damascus for "genocide." But the pleas had little impact on a situation that is governed by passion and irrationality. Unless a cease-fire can be brokered quickly, Syria and its allies might risk an all out assault to crush the Christian forces.

The adversaries have been shelling each other mercilessly since March, when Major General Michel Aoun, the determined Christian President of the divided nation, clamped a blockade on Muslim ports and declared a "war of liberation" against Syria. Last week came intimations of a more serious escalation in hostilities. Syrian-backed Muslim forces attempted to invade the Christian sector. Aoun's troops successfully repulsed the ground attack on the town of Suq al Gharb, the gateway to the Christian stronghold in the southeast of the capital. The battle of Beirut appeared to be entering a crucial phase.

Damascus denied that any Syrian troops, who entered Lebanon as peacekeepers in 1976 and neglected to leave, had taken part in the assault. Yet plainly Syria was deeply involved. A Muslim officer who fought under Aoun stated that both Druze and Syrian forces advanced on Suq al Gharb, then turned back under heavy Christian fire, leaving 35 dead Syrians behind. In Damascus, Syrian President Hafez Assad convened representatives of various Muslim, Druze and Palestinian militias to map out a combat plan to topple Aoun. The war council aroused international concern that Syria, which has upwards of 30,000 troops inside Lebanon, might be preparing to invade the 300-sq.-mi. Christian enclave. Despite the evident danger, none of the combatants seem willing to back down. Syria stated flatly that there could be no cease-fire in Beirut until Aoun stepped aside. Responded Aoun: "A cease-fire is not the national objective. The Syrian regime does not belong in this country." To the Western leaders who pleaded from the sidelines, he said, "If declarations are all the rest of the world can offer, I would prefer the rest of the world shut up."



Only France made some serious attempts to build pressure. In addition to deploying two warships to the region, President François Mitterrand dispatched a flood of envoys to Moscow and key Arab League capitals, which command some leverage over Syria. But Mitterrand's diplomacy cut little ice in Lebanon, where France is regarded as an ally of the Maronites, or in Damascus, where France is suspect for its support of Iraq in the gulf war.

At the heart of Lebanon's misery is a 1943 "national pact" reaffirming that the predomi-

nance of power would be held by the majority Christian community. Since then, the Muslim population has overwhelmed the Christian count, but the political arrangements have not been altered to reflect the Muslims' strength. Until that imbalance is redressed, tribal hostilities will not cease.

SYGMA

General Aoun

Lebanon's turf war is hopelessly entangled in other conflicts. Aoun and Assad have developed a deep personal animosity. Aoun regards Assad as the head of an occupational force, which must be driven out. Assad, who considers Lebanon part of Greater Syria, has been embarrassed that in the past six months Aoun's smaller forces have held the Muslims at bay. "Assad doesn't want to annihilate the Christians," says retired Israeli Brigadier General Aharon Levran. "He just wants Aoun's head."

Aoun gets help from Iraq, eager to exact revenge for Syria's support of Iran in the gulf war. Baghdad has been shipping weapons to the Christians mainly to gall Syria. Long rivals for hegemony in the region, the two Arab giants seem to be fighting a proxy war on Lebanese soil. The struggle for control of Lebanon is further confused by the power contest in Tehran and the fate of the 15 foreign hostages.

Western leaders are trying to halt the slaughter through international pressure on Assad. The Syrian President does not wish to offend the West when his country sorely needs economic help. Nor can Assad calculate Israel's or Iraq's response to an assault by his troops that would amount to Syrian control of Lebanon.

But both Assad and Aoun seem bent on the same deadly gambit: Damascus hopes the violence will turn Christians against Aoun; the Maronite leader hopes it will bring intervention from the West against Syria. Meantime, it is the people of Lebanon who continue to suffer, particularly those—Muslim and Christian alike—who live in Beirut, where the shells have killed almost 800 and wounded over 2,000 since March. The fortunate have fled, paring the city's population from 1.5 million to just 150,000. Those who remain huddle by night in airless underground shelters, listening to the sounds of destruction. Those who venture out by day find their streets overrun by starving dogs and giant rats and occupied by implacable soldiers. "They are murdering the city," says one forlorn resident. The fear is that the remaining people may be murdered as well. ***—By Jill Smolowe. Reported by William Dowell/Damascus and William Rademaekers/Paris***

America Abroad

Strobe Talbott

Happy Campers, for a Change

James Baker and Dick Cheney loaded their tents, sleeping bags and fly rods onto packhorses last week and trekked into the Rockies for five days of trout fishing. Before they left Washington, they made sure the word was out among their colleagues: a Secretary of State and a Secretary of Defense who can go camping together in the high country of Wyoming can deliberate—and even disagree—along the banks of the Potomac without tearing an Administration apart.

The conduct of U.S. defense and diplomacy has often been cursed by backstabbing at the highest levels of Government. The problem became both acute and chronic with Richard Nixon. He believed in keeping his underlings as suspicious of one another as he was of them, and he liked to hear the worst about people behind their backs. His National Security Adviser, Henry Kissinger, frequently sniped at the State Department, until Nixon put him in charge there.

CYNTHIA JOHNSON

Secretary of State Baker

DIANA WALKER

Secretary of Defense Cheney

Later Kissinger turned his fire on the Pentagon and contributed to Gerald Ford's decision to replace James Schlesinger with Donald Rumsfeld as Secretary of Defense. It was a Pyrrhic victory for Kissinger. In 1976 Rumsfeld undermined Kissinger's attempt to negotiate an arms-control treaty with the Soviet Union. Why? Because détente had become a political liability to Ford in an election year.

The Carter term was marred by a running feud between the patrician, conciliatory Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and the scrappy, viscerally anti-Soviet National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski.

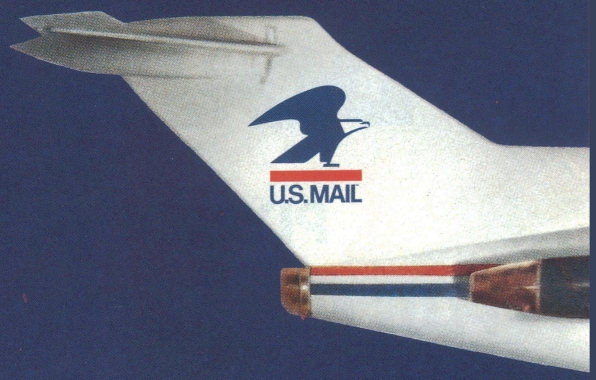
In the Reagan Administration, the brass knuckles were passed to George Shultz and Caspar Weinberger. There is a Washington adage: where you stand is where you sit. As the nation's chief diplomat, Shultz naturally pressed for better relations with the U.S.S.R., while Weinberger, who was responsible for the military establishment, preferred to wage the cold war and to prepare, if necessary, for World War III. But the hostility between them ran deeper than the competing interests of their departments. Weinberger apparently resented having been a subordinate to Shultz earlier.

As a member of the Reagan Administration, Baker had a ringside seat on the Shultz-Weinberger rivalry. Similarly, Cheney, from his post as Ford's chief of staff, had watched Kissinger wrestle with a tag team of bureaucratic opponents. Cheney and the National Security Adviser at the time, Brent Scowcroft, used to meet at the end of the day in the West Wing of the White House and commiserate about the damage that all the bickering was doing both to policy and to the presidency. Scowcroft is now back in his old job. He sees it as part of his task to stop tong warfare before it starts.

Baker and Cheney have had their disagreements. They differed over how many troops the U.S. should withdraw from Europe as part of an East-West conventional-arms agreement. Baker wanted larger cuts than Cheney felt were prudent. But they have preserved what Baker calls "civility and discipline" between themselves and their staffs. "That's what the President wants," says Cheney.

Nixon encouraged backbiting; Ford, Carter and Reagan tolerated it; George Bush won't stand for it. Shortly after his Inauguration, he distributed a list of commandments. "Be frank," reads one. "Fight hard for your position," is the next. Then: "When I make the call, we move as a team."

On that score at least, so far so good. ■



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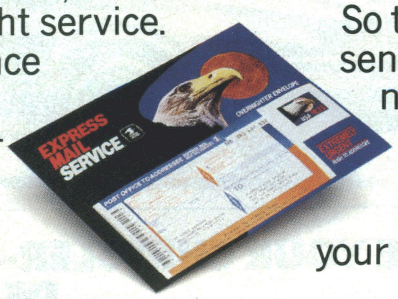

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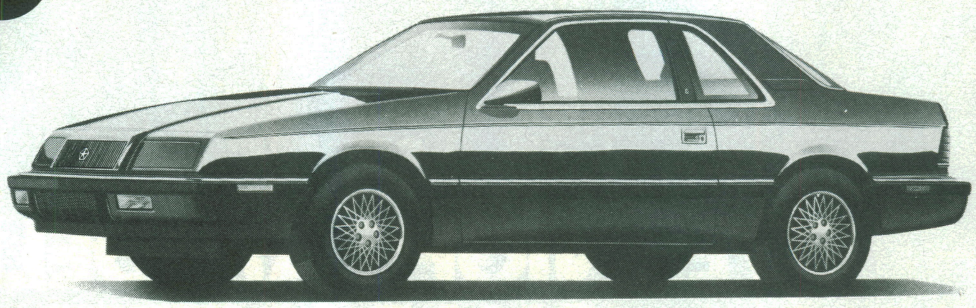

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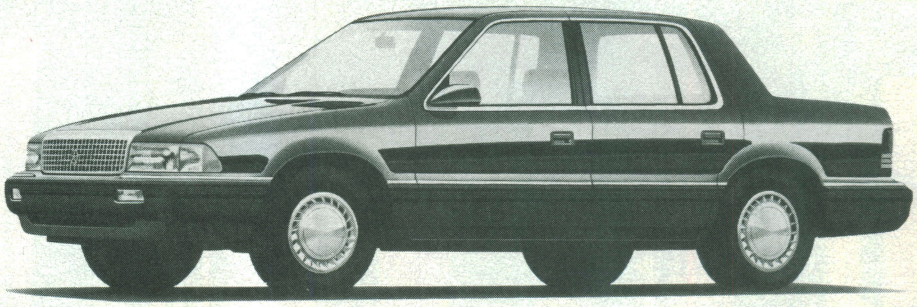

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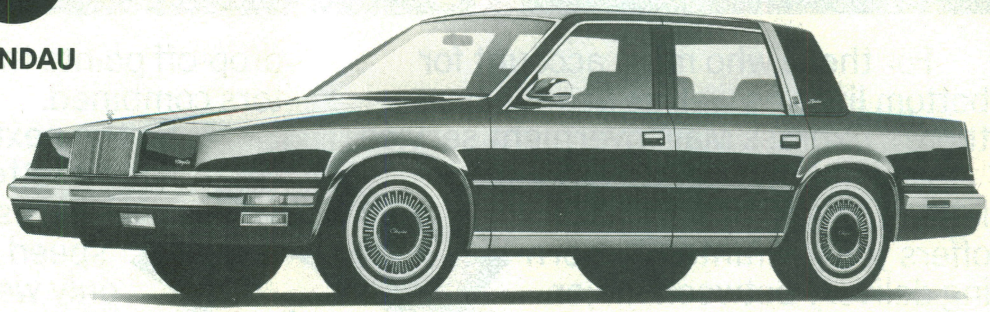

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GUATEMALA

Bedmates and Running Mates

The first peaceful transition of power from one civilian leader to another in Guatemala's history was set in motion last week by the selection of a candidate to represent the ruling Christian Democratic Party in the 1990 presidential election. Early returns showed the winner was former Foreign Minister Alfonso Cabrera Hidalgo, President Vinicio Cerezo's handpicked candidate, with 60% of the vote.

The electoral achievement was spiced by a titillating sideshow. Among the candidates was Raquel Blandón, Presi-

NANCY MCGIRR—J.B. PICTURES

Cabrera campaigning

dent Cerezo's wife. Although the Cerezos have discreetly been maintaining separate residences for more than a year, Blandón's run for office put an added strain on their complicated domestic arrangement. Their marriage has reportedly been tested by Cerezo's much rumored dalliances with other women.

Blandón denied that her candidacy was a ploy to embarrass and punish her husband. "I know he has a reputation for being woman crazy, but this is Latin America," she said. "Such things are not as shocking here." Although Blandón stood to take only about 8% of the vote, there are signs that Cabrera may tap the First Lady to be his running mate. ■

SOUTH AFRICA

Are Only the Initials New?

Trailing King Lear–like complaints of being ignored, President P.W. Botha, 73, resigned last week. National Party leader F.W. de Klerk was named acting President by the Cabinet until next month's parliamentary elections can formalize the succession. The question is whether this change will make a difference.

None at all, sniffed Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu. "It is just a change of initials from P.W. to F.W.," said the Nobel laureate. Other black leaders took the same view, noting that while De Klerk talks of dismantling apartheid, he supports segregation in housing, education and politics.

De Klerk insisted that the country was on the "threshold of a new era" and announced he would meet on Aug. 28 with Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda. Kaunda is expected to press De Klerk to negotiate with the outlawed African National Congress. ■

XINHUA

Politics is a required course

CHINA

Making the Marxist Grade

As Beijing's 67 universities opened for a new term last week, the mood on campus was strictly back to basics—Communist basics. Two months after the bloody suppression of the student pro-democracy movement, the authorities are putting new emphasis on "political re-education." At Beijing Teachers College and other former hotbeds of student protest, incoming freshmen reported a month early for a required refresher course on Deng Xiaoping's speeches.

Hardest hit was Peking University, where the entire class of 811 students has been ordered to spend its first year not on the spacious city campus but at a spartan military academy 1,260 miles south of Beijing, where the curriculum will be heavily weighted in favor of discipline and party ideology. Said an angry teacher: "The government probably thinks it can change the minds of young people in this manner so that they will avoid being troublemakers in the future." Some face a particularly grueling ideological brush-up. The State Education Commission has ruled that all graduates since 1985 must spend a year working in the countryside or in a factory. ■

SOVIET UNION

The Baltics Set the Agenda

Estonia, one of the restive Baltic republics where *perestroika* and *glasnost* have spawned independence movements, was rebuked by the highest level of government last week. The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet said Estonia violated the Soviet constitution by imposing a two-year residence requirement on voters in local elections. Estonia's Russian minority called the act discriminatory, and 40,000 Russian workers went on strike.

It is not certain, though, that Estonia has lost the fight. The Presidium simply sent the electoral law back to the Estonian parliament for review. And in a semi-bow to Baltic sensibilities, Politburo member Alexander Yakovlev confirmed that the 1939 Nazi-Soviet pacts secretly assigned the three states to Moscow's sphere of influence on the eve of World War II. But he denied this had any bearing on the status of the republics, which Moscow annexed in 1940 as members of the U.S.S.R.

F. ZECCHIN—MAGNUM

Estonians keep up the fight

Officially recognizing that such nationalities issues are "acute," the Kremlin last week proposed a policy that would grant increased autonomy to all 15 republics and rewrite the 1922 treaty creating the Soviet Union and defining the rights and obligations of its republics. "Recent events," said the proposal, show "a need for radical transformations in the Soviet federation." Specifics are to be discussed at a special Central Committee plenum next month. It will be another risky venture for President Mikhail Gorbachev, aimed at resolving the nationalities problem without curtailing his reform program—or his hold on power. ■

WORLD WAR II

When Dar

BY OTTO FRIEDRICH

> World War II began last . . . Friday, Sept. 1, when a German bombing plane dropped a projectile on Puck, fishing village and air base in the armpit of the Hel Peninsula.

That sentence, appearing in TIME magazine 50 years ago, reported the start of a cataclysm that would ultimately sweep across five continents and change the world forever.

By the time the slaughter ended nearly six years later, more than 50 million people, two-thirds of them civilians, had been killed—shot, drowned, bombed, frozen, starved, gassed. A number of ideas and institutions too had been killed or gravely wounded: the Third Reich, the British Empire, isolationism, appeasement, peace in our time.

But out of all that suffering, new ideas had been born, from the technologies of radar, sulfa drugs, jet aircraft and nuclear energy to the concepts of collective security, the Atlantic alliance and the United Nations. New horrors, almost beyond description, now had to be given names: fire storm, radiation, holocaust. But other terms suggested rays of hope: jeep, airlift and the symbol of three dots and a dash: *V* for victory.

This is how it all began, a half-century ago.

THE PANZERS INVADE POLAND

Tanks—2,700 of them, organized in armored divisions—push ahead 30 miles a day

kness Fell

BILDERDIENST SÜDDEUTSCHER VERLAG

PART 1

Blitzkrieg

September 1, 1939: a new kind of warfare engulfs Poland

. . . As the clever hopes expire
Of a low dishonest decade:
Waves of anger and fear
Circulate over the bright
And darkened lands of the earth
—*SEPTEMBER 1, 1939,* by W.H. AUDEN

Treachery, lies and murder—those were the hallmarks of Adolf Hitler's launching of World War II. The German Wehrmacht had its orders to invade Poland at dawn of Sept. 1, 1939, but the first killings actually occurred the night before near a border town called Gleiwitz. There German SS troops took twelve prisoners from the Oranienburg concentration camp outside Berlin, ordered them to dress in Polish army uniforms, then injected them with poison and shot them. The twelve "Polish casualties" were dumped in a forest near the village of Hochlinde to be exhibited later to the foreign press.

The SS killers took along one more Oranienburg prisoner when they burst in on the Gleiwitz radio station, knocking a Mozart symphony off the air and firing pistols in all directions. The intruders shouted in Polish over the open microphones that they and their comrades were invading Germany. Then they ran off, leaving the corpse of the prisoner as one more "Polish casualty."

At 10 a.m. the next day in Berlin, in the ornate Kroll Opera, where the Reichstag had met ever since a mysterious outbreak of arson gutted its traditional headquarters in 1933, Chancellor Hitler arrived wearing the "sacred coat" of the German infantryman and used the crudely faked fracas in Gleiwitz to justify his invasion of Poland. "For the first time Polish regular soldiers fired on our own territory," he told the brown-shirted deputies. "Since 5:45 a.m. we have been returning the fire, and from now on bombs will be met with bombs."

It was a grotesque misstatement of the ugly reality. Five months earlier, the secret plan known as Operation White had declared, "The task of the Wehrmacht is to destroy the Polish armed forces. To this end, a surprise attack is to be aimed at and prepared . . . any time from Sept. 1, 1939, onward." If anything more was needed, it was the neutralization of Poland's other big neighbor, Soviet Russia, and Hitler had achieved that just the previous week by suddenly concluding a treaty of cooperation with his supposed archenemy Joseph Stalin. And so, at the appointed hour of 4:45 a.m. (Poland time), Hitler struck all along the 1,750-mile Polish frontier. The catastrophic war of revenge that he alone wanted was now his to command.

Without the slightest warning, Germany's General Walther von Brauchitsch sent the Fourth Army smashing through the disputed Polish Corridor, isolating the Free City of Danzig; the Eighth and Tenth Armies striking over the Vistula plain toward Warsaw; the Fourteenth Army driving across Silesia toward Cracow—1.5 million men in all, led by a fearsome new military force, the 2,700 fast-moving panzers (tanks) of the German armored divisions.

Overhead, another new German weapon seized control of the skies: the Junkers-87 Stuka dive bomber, which plunged down to blast road junctions and railroad lines; it also had a de-

ATTACKS FROM EVERYWHERE

German bombers rain destruction on undefended Warsaw. Far right, Hitler reviews victorious troops

ROGER VIOLLET

©1940 by W.H. Auden. Reprinted by permission of Random House, Inc.

vice that emitted screams to spread terror among its victims. And then there were the heavy bombers. General Wladyslaw Anders, who would eventually lead the Polish exile army through the battles of North Africa and Italy, heard the ominous drone of Heinkel-111s overhead and later remembered that "squadron after squadron of aircraft could be seen flying in file, like cranes, to Warsaw." At 6 a.m. those deadly cranes began raining bombs on the unprepared, ill-defended city and its civilian inhabitants. In those same surprise raids on that first gray morning, the German Luftwaffe virtually wiped out the entire 500-plane Polish air force on the ground. The dawn surprise, the rampaging panzers, the shrieking dive bombers, all were elements in a new German invention that was to change the nature of warfare: blitzkrieg.

Blitzkrieg and deception. In disputed Danzig, the once German port administered by the League of Nations since the end of World War I, the attack had begun half an hour before the invasion, when local Nazi Storm Troopers seized several key buildings and intersections. From the harbor, the battleship *Schleswig-Holstein,* which had arrived a few days earlier on a "courtesy visit," began emptying its 11-in. guns at the Westerplatte peninsula, where the Poles were authorized to station 88 soldiers. The only real resistance came from the Polish Post Office on Heveliusplatz, where 51 postal workers barricaded the doors. When the Storm Troopers blasted open part of the building, the Poles retreated to the cellar; the Nazis sprayed them with gasoline and set them afire. By nightfall, Danzig had, said its local Nazi leader, "returned to the Great German Reich."

The Poles were amazed at the speed of the German successes—even the Germans were surprised—but the defenders counted on two allies to save them. One was General Mud, who traditionally emerged from the September rains that regularly converted the Vistula River into an impassable barrier and the vulnerable fields of central Poland into a morass. The other ally was the Anglo-French partnership, which bound the two great powers of the West to defend Poland by armed force.

For both the rulers and the peoples of Britain and France, this was an agonizing time. Again and again they had gone through brink-of-war crises over Hitler's insatiable and megalomaniacal demands, over his rearming of the Rhineland in 1936, his annexation of Austria in the spring of 1938, his claims on the Czech Sudetenland in the fall of 1938, his seizure of Bohemia and Moravia in the spring of 1939. In each crisis, the threat of war had reawakened the nightmarish memories of World War I, when tens of thousands of men had been slaughtered in meaningless offensives over a few miles of trenches and barbed wire; and each time the threat of a new war had ended with another few months of nervous peace, bought at the price of another diplomatic victory for Hitler. Yet even now, with the Führer's armies invading a nation that Britain and France were pledged to defend, it seemed hard to believe war was really at hand. Virginia Woolf's husband Leonard recalled that he was planting irises under an apple tree. "Suddenly I heard Virginia's voice calling to me from the sitting-room window: 'Hitler is making a speech.' I shouted back: 'I shan't come. I'm planting iris, and they will be flowering long after he is dead.' "

Though Hitler had made no pretense of declaring war on Poland—with which he had signed a ten-year nonaggression pact in 1934—the British and French response to his attack was glacial in its formality. Not until 10 a.m. did the British Foreign Secretary, Lord Halifax, summon the German chargé d'affaires to ask if he had any explanation for this "very serious situation."

PARAMOUNT

WIDE WORLD

EVER ON THE MOVE **German motorcycles sweep toward Bydgoszcz in the Polish Corridor**

The chargé admitted only that the Germans were defending themselves against a Polish attack.

At this point, even with fighting under way all along the Polish frontier, it was still conceivable that Hitler might once again achieve his goal without a major war. Italy's Benito Mussolini, who had promised to join Hitler's side in case of war, telephoned Berlin to say that he wished to remain neutral; Mussolini had been telling the British and French all that week that if they would agree to a new four-power conference (much like the one at Munich that had carved up Czechoslovakia the previous year), he might be able to arrange some kind of compromise based on the return of Danzig to Germany. Just before noon on the day of the invasion, French Foreign Minister Georges Bonnet, a devoted believer in the appeasement of Hitler, telephoned Rome to say that France would welcome such a conference. He did not even mention any need for the Germans first to withdraw from Poland.

The British insisted on that, however, and so, after several anxious telephone calls between London and Paris, the two Allies' ambassadors in Berlin finally requested an interview at 7:15 p.m. with German Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop. They told him that unless Germany immediately stopped its invasion, they would "without hesitation fulfill their obligations to Poland."

All the next day, Saturday, Sept. 2, while the German tanks kept pressing forward, Hitler made no response. The British Cabinet met in the afternoon and decided that Hitler was stalling and that Britain and France should deliver an ultimatum to Berlin at midnight, to expire at 6 a.m. the following day. When Halifax proposed this to Paris, however, Bonnet said the French military commanders needed another 48 hours to mobilize.

Addressing the House of Commons that evening, Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain tried to equivocate. He said that if the Germans did not stop their invasion, Britain would "be bound to take action." The House was furious at Chamberlain's delays, and when Arthur Greenwood rose to reply for Labour, Tory backbencher Robert Boothby called out, "*You* speak for Britain." Said Greenwood: "I wonder how long we are prepared to vacillate at a time when Britain and all that Britain stands for, and human civilization, are in peril."

A worried Chamberlain telephoned French Premier Edouard Daladier and said Britain could not wait 48 hours; Daladier said it must. Halifax called Bonnet and proposed that an ultimatum be delivered at 8 a.m. Sunday, to expire at

REMEMBRANCE

RICHARD VON WEIZSÄCKER

"There Was No Enthusiasm for War"

Now President of West Germany, he was a 19-year-old private with the Ninth Infantry Regiment in Potsdam when war came. In 1949, Von Weizsäcker's father was convicted of war crimes at Nuremberg and sentenced to seven years in jail; his sentence was commuted in 1951.

We knew nothing of the secret protocol between Hitler and Stalin that contained provisions for the attack on Poland. German newspapers were full of reports of Polish violence and provocations against the German minority. Who knew whether the reports were correct? Most were believed.

Despite the influence of Hitler's propaganda on German public opinion, there was no enthusiasm for war. Thus the mobilization of the Wehrmacht was conducted as quietly as possible. About Aug. 25, after being hospitalized with appendicitis, I received orders to rejoin my unit at Potsdam immediately. I was told not to talk about it.

That very same day, I later discovered, my father—a state secretary in the Foreign Ministry—had taken part in a last-ditch attempt to dissuade Hitler from issuing the invasion order. In his notes my father remarked, "This afternoon is the most depressing of my life. Apart from the unforeseeable consequences for the existence of Germany and of my family, it is appalling that my name should be connected with this event."

Two or three days before Sept. 1, our battalion departed—but not, as in August 1914, with brass bands and in broad daylight. We set off in pitch darkness, taking side streets to the freightyards. Early on the morning of Sept. 1, we crossed into Poland. We soon saw action. Just a few hundred yards from me, my older brother Heinrich fell. We barely had time to bury him and the other dead before we had to hurry on. The suffering had begun.

We were no better and no worse than our fathers, who 25 years earlier had been drawn into the First World War. And we were no better or worse than our children, who today pass judgment upon us. We, like the soldiers of other countries, were trained to obedience. We had not been brought up free to demonstrate our opposition under the protection of a liberal constitution. We had the same sensitivities that all humans have, but during a time of difficult decisions, we lacked political vision.

noon. Bonnet insisted on no ultimatum before noon. Halifax said the House was meeting at noon, and any further delay would mean the downfall of the government. He said that if necessary, Britain would "act on its own." When the Cabinet asked Chamberlain to pledge no further compromises, he said, "Right, gentlemen. This means war." As he spoke, one witness recalled, "there was the most enormous clap of thunder, and the whole Cabinet room was lit up by a blinding flash of lightning."

Halifax cabled Ambassador Nevile Henderson in Berlin and told him to deliver an ultimatum to Ribbentrop at 9 a.m. on Sunday, Sept. 3. Ribbentrop scornfully let it be known that he would not be "available" but that Henderson could deliver his message to the departmental interpreter, Paul Schmidt. As it happened, Schmidt overslept that morning, arrived by taxi to see Henderson already climbing the steps of the Foreign Ministry, and slipped in a side door just in time to receive him at 9. Henderson stood and read aloud his message, declaring that unless Britain were assured of an end to the Polish invasion within two hours, "a state of war will exist between the two countries."

JACK POWELL

AND THEN ATROCITIES A German firing squad executes a collection of Polish prisoners

Schmidt dutifully took the British ultimatum to Hitler's Chancellery, where he found the Führer at his desk and the "unavailable" Ribbentrop standing at a nearby window. Schmidt translated the ultimatum aloud. "When I finished, there was complete silence," he recalled. "Hitler sat immobile, gazing before him. After an interval that seemed an age, he turned to Ribbentrop, who had remained standing by the window. 'What now?' asked Hitler with a savage look."

And at noon on Sept. 3, Chamberlain rose in the Commons—newly outfitted with blackout curtains—and announced that his years of effort to appease Hitler had ended in failure. "This is a sad day for all of us, and to none is it sadder than to me," he said. "Everything that I have worked for, everything that I have believed in during my public life has crashed into ruins. There is only one thing left for me to do: that is to devote what strength and powers I have to forwarding the victory of the cause for which we have to sacrifice so much."

That very night, Britons learned of the first such sacrifice: 200 miles west of Scotland in the North Atlantic, the unarmed British liner *Athenia,* carrying 1,400 passengers from Liverpool to Montreal, was hit and sunk by a torpedo from the German submarine U-30; 112 passengers, including 28 Americans, died.

Adolf Hitler left Berlin that same night to survey his armies' progress in Poland, and what he saw pleased him mightily. General Heinz Guderian, the tank commander who had already swept across the 50-mile-wide Polish Corridor, the once German area linking Poland to the Baltic Sea, took the Führer on a tour of the newly conquered territory. Hitler was amazed at the low number of German casualties, only 150 killed and 700 wounded among four divisions; his own regiment had suffered 2,000 casualties during its first day of combat in World War I. And he was impressed when Guderian showed him the shattered remains of a Polish artillery regiment. "Our dive bombers did that?" he asked. "No, our panzers," Guderian proudly answered.

Many of the Poles had fought gallantly, though, and it was here in the battle for the corridor that there spread the legend of the Polish cavalry charging German armor, like medieval knights lost in a time warp. "The Polish Pomorska Cavalry Brigade, in ignorance of the nature of our tanks, charged them with swords and lances," Guderian recalled with some wonder, "and suffered tremendous losses." Actually, the Polish cavalry was organized to combat infantry charges, and it had proved its value when the Poles defeated the Soviets in 1920. But by the time it confronted the German tanks, the cavalry was already surrounded, and its legendary charges were primarily a desperate effort to escape capture and destruction.

Despite a few convulsive counterattacks, the Germans swept

REMEMBRANCE

RAFAEL LOC

"We Could Do Nothing"

Now 79, Loc (pronounced lotz*) was a Polish lieutenant when the invasion began.*

The stillness was shattered by the howling and screeching and booming of German bombers and artillery. The Messerschmitts came at us in waves. We could do nothing. We had no antiaircraft guns. We had nothing to return fire at their long-range artillery. Two hours after it began we were panic stricken, and our entire battalion jumped out of the trenches and ran toward our regimental headquarters.

Only half the battalion made it. We continued running and walking, but wherever we turned we met German artillery and tank fire. They were in back of us and in front of us. To the right was automatic fire; to the left we were shot at by artillery. One shell hit a mine 300 yards from us and set off a long line of Polish-laid mines; they exploded in domino fashion. We ran, we lay on the ground, we ran. We didn't know which way to go.

Captured after four days, Loc later became Poland's first Consul-General in Israel. Back in Warsaw, he was fired from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs during a wave of anti-Semitism in 1953 and immigrated to Israel in 1956.

HEINRICH HOFFMANN—BILDARCHIV PREUSS

AND CARNAGE **Poles relied heavily on horses, and the animals suffered accordingly**

forward all along the front. Blessed by dry weather, the armored spearheads advanced as much as 30 miles a day. As early as Sept. 5, Germany's Chief of Staff Franz Halder wrote in his journal: "As of today, the enemy is practically beaten." The next day, the Wehrmacht captured Cracow, Poland's second city. Two days later, the first tanks of the 4th Panzer Division reached the suburbs of Warsaw, where they encountered sniper fire from apartment windows and found major streets blocked by overturned buses. While the tanks paused for reinforcements, the Luftwaffe kept up its bombing of the battered capital.

A Rome journalist named Enrico Altavilla provided this description: "Our objective was the great new bridge of nine spans over the [Vistula] river. We flew over it at 600 meters. It was crowded with autos, armored cars, trucks and private vehicles. In their panic they had created a jam, and none could go forward or backward. The first bombs missed their objective by a hair's breadth. We turned and could see the bridge already full of smoke. One of the other bombers was more accurate than ours. My pilot bit his lip. The bridge was still standing, but this time our bombs were better aimed. I saw a truck full of soldiers tossed into the air and an armored car fall into the river. The arches of the bridge were precipitated into the river one after another, forcing up high columns of water. Some soldiers floundered in the ruins. Others succeeded in reaching the bank. Some inanimate figures floated in the current. Such is war."

Warsaw Mayor Stefan Starzynski struggled valiantly to rally the city's defenders, leading volunteers in digging trenches, taking to the radio to broadcast instructions. And crowds gathered outside the British and French embassies to greet their declaration of war by singing *God Save the King* and *La Marseillaise*. The crowds' hopes of rescue were doomed, however, for the British military effort during these first days consisted mainly of dropping propaganda leaflets on German military installations (among the cautious Britons' other preparations for war: killing all poisonous snakes in the London zoo). The French attempted only one feeble probe against Germany's ill-defended western frontier. And the Poles' own political and military leaders, perhaps considering discretion the better part of valor, were already abandoning Warsaw to its fate.

They were not the best of leaders even under the best of circumstances. Partitioned three times by its hostile neighbors during the 18th century, Poland had re-emerged into independence only in 1920, thanks to the Versailles Treaty, and its rulers were a rather inept junta of colonels, political heirs to the late founding father, Marshal Jozef Pilsudski. Not only was the government something less than a democracy, but also its fiercely anti-Soviet policy led it to a pro-German stance as late as 1938, when it joined with Hitler in the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia.

As early as Sept. 4, the Polish government began evacuating Warsaw. The Bank of Poland sent its gold reserves south, to a haven near the Rumanian border. On Sept. 7 the Foreign Ministry told all diplomats that President Ignacy Mościcki, Premier Felicjan Sławój-Składkowski and their Cabinet ministers were leaving immediately by truck convoy for Nałeczów, a resort 85 miles southeast of Warsaw. Finding no telephone lines working and almost no electricity, the ministers and diplomats trekked onward the next day to Krzemieniec, some 200 miles farther southeast. Throughout this flight, they were repeatedly attacked by German planes, for the Germans had long since broken all Polish communications codes. U.S. Ambassador Anthony J. Drexel Biddle reported being bombed 15 times and strafed four times. Bombed again in Krzemieniec, the officials moved yet an additional 100 miles to Zaleszczyki, on the Rumanian frontier, where they were bombed once again.

Nearby, equally cut off from everything, was Poland's military high command. If the Poles had adopted a more cautious strategy in the first place, pulling back to form a defensible perimeter, they might have lasted longer. But the Poles refused to abandon an inch of their land, and the Germans' surprise attack across the unfortified frontier threw the defenders into confusion.

REMEMBRANCE

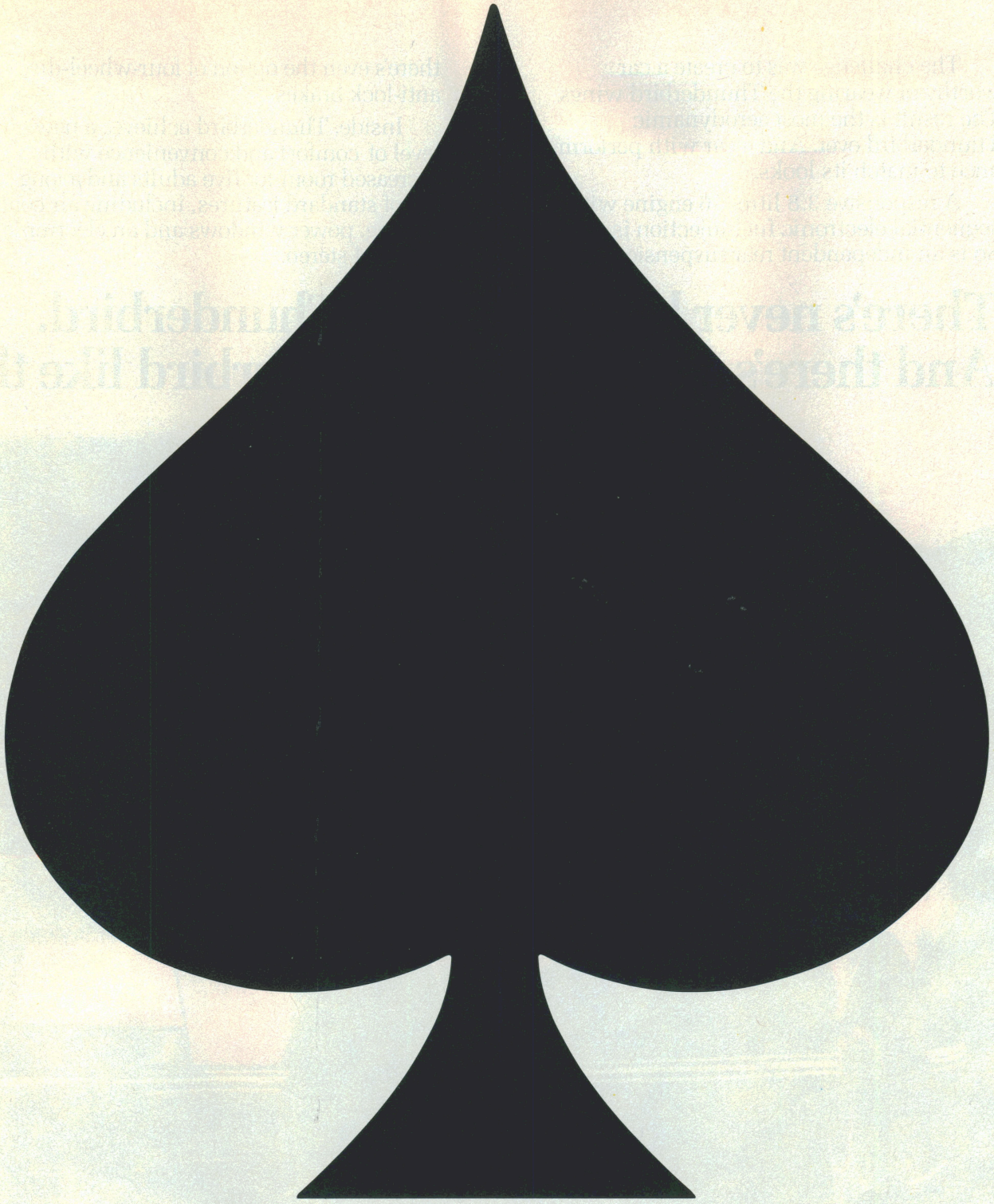
RYSZARD KAPUSCINSKI

"Waiting for Death"

The Polish journalist and author (The Emperor *and* Shah of Shahs) *was seven when he and his family fled the Nazis.*

I remember walking with my sister next to a horse-drawn cart. High up on the hay my grandfather was lying on a linen sheet. He was paralyzed. When the air raid started, the whole patiently marching crowd was suddenly filled with panic. People sought safety in ditches, in bushes, in the potato fields. On the now empty road there was only the cart on which my grandfather was lying. He could see the planes coming at him, how suddenly they dived down. When the planes disappeared, we returned to the cart and my mother wiped the sweat off Grandfather's face. After each raid sweat rolled down Grandfather's tired, emaciated face.

We encountered the corpses of horses everywhere. Poor horses, big defenseless animals that don't know how to hide. They stand motionless, waiting for death. It was always the corpses of horses—black, bay, pied, chestnut—lying upside down with the legs pointing into the air, their hooves admonishing the world. It was as if it were a war not between people but between horses, as if they were the only victims of the strife.



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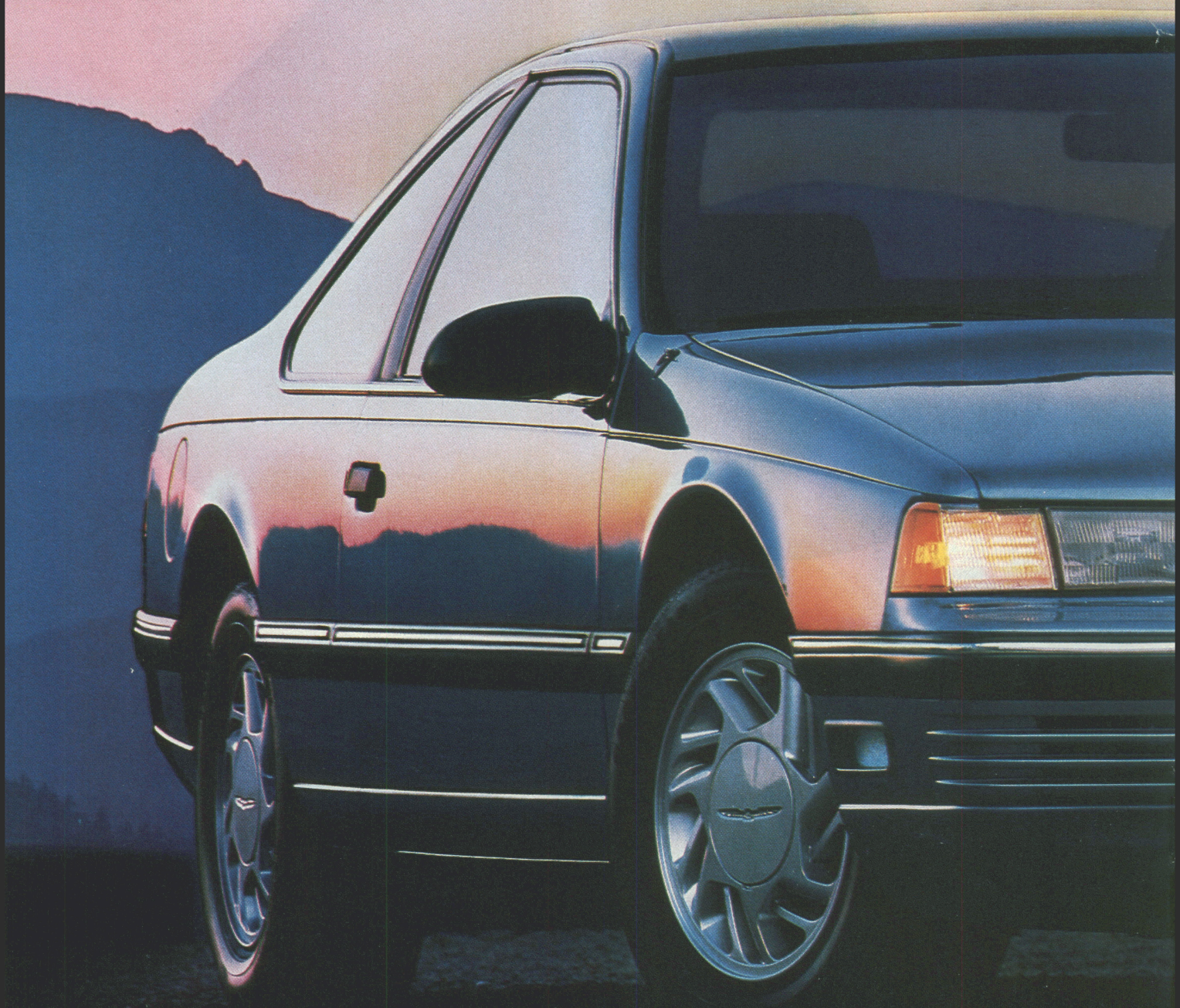

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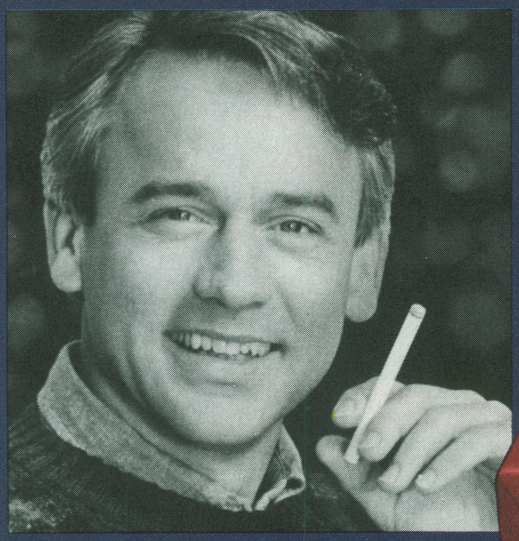

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Military units got separated and cut off; refugees jammed the highways; communications systems broke down; the Germans not only knew Polish codes but also broadcast false information on Polish radio frequencies.

On Sept. 6, Marshal Edward Smigly-Rydz, the supposed strongman who had insisted on Poland's forward strategy, evacuated his military headquarters from Warsaw and kept retreating until he crossed into Rumania. After Sept. 16, no further general orders went out from either the marshal or his headquarters. Local units maintaining pockets of resistance throughout Poland—about 250,000 men in all—were simply left on their own, to fight on as best they could.

On Sept. 17 came the final step in the disaster: the Soviet army invaded eastern Poland and proceeded to grab whatever had not yet been grabbed by the Germans. Actually, this had all been preordained in several secret protocols of the previous month's Nazi-Soviet treaty. Only the date of the Soviet invasion had been left uncertain. Stalin had a little difficulty in thinking up an excuse to attack, but he finally declared that he was acting "to restore peace and order in Poland, which has been destroyed by the disintegration of the Polish State."

So it was all over, except for the fact that besieged Warsaw still stood unconquered. German panzers and infantry had surrounded the capital since Sept. 14, but every time they tried to smash into it, they were blocked by overturned trolley cars, heaps of rubble, sniper fire, homemade gasoline bombs. Luftwaffe bombers swept over the city almost continually. Civilian casualties numbered in the thousands, many of them buried inside collapsed buildings. Food and medicine began to run out. "Everywhere corpses," one survivor later recalled, "wounded humans, killed horses." As soon as a horse fell, said another, "people cut off pieces of flesh, leaving only a skeleton." Throughout the battle, Warsaw Radio broadcast a Chopin polonaise over and over, showing that the surrounded city was still fighting.

JULIEN BRYAN—ROBERT HUNT LIBRARY

AND RANDOM DEATH A girl finds her sister after a potato field outside Warsaw is strafed

A German officer entered Warsaw under a flag of truce on Sept. 16 and delivered an ultimatum: surrender in 24 hours or artillery would begin shelling the entire city. The Polish commandant refused to receive the message. German planes dropped leaflets with the same warning. Then the shelling came.

"One of the first great fires, which later raged throughout all Warsaw, was in the Jewish quarter," cabled photographer Julien Bryan, who worked for Time Inc. and the Chicago *Daily News*, the only American correspondent in the city. "I saw able-bodied men working in pitiful bucket brigades along with stooped, old, long-bearded men in long black coats and skullcaps. Apartment houses whose sides had been ripped out earlier in the day were now ravaged by flames. An old woman stood in front of the ruins of her home, a teakettle steaming on her stove but fire coming from the burning building. There was a skeleton on an iron bedstead nearby. She was dazed and poking in the hot ashes. Nearby a little boy was playing with a football—all he had saved. The bodies of 14 horses were smoking and smelling in the street. Twenty feet from them were the bodies of ten people who had sought refuge in a dugout—a direct hit."

Finally, on Sept. 27, with 12,000 citizens dead, one-quarter of the city destroyed and much of the rest in flames, with food stocks gone, the water system wrecked, Warsaw gave in. The Chopin had died away; the radio station had gone off the air. And there descended on Poland a great curtain of silence. Hitler had told his commanders in August that he planned to send SS units to Poland "to kill without pity or mercy all men, women and children of Polish race or language." That was an exaggeration, but not by much. In town after town, *Einsatzgruppen* (special units) began roaming from house to house, systematically murdering local officials, teachers, doctors, aristocrats, Jews, clergymen, anyone who might oppose the New Order. SS officials in Berlin boasted of 200 shootings a day, but behind that curtain of silence, in obscure villages with names like Treblinka and Auschwitz, the killing over the next few years would increase to a level beyond anything civilized minds could imagine.

In the West, the month-old war seemed virtually over before it had even begun, and there began a period of mysterious inertia on both sides. The British called it the phony war, the French *drôle de guerre*, the Germans *Sitzkrieg*. But the war was not over. It had barely started. ■

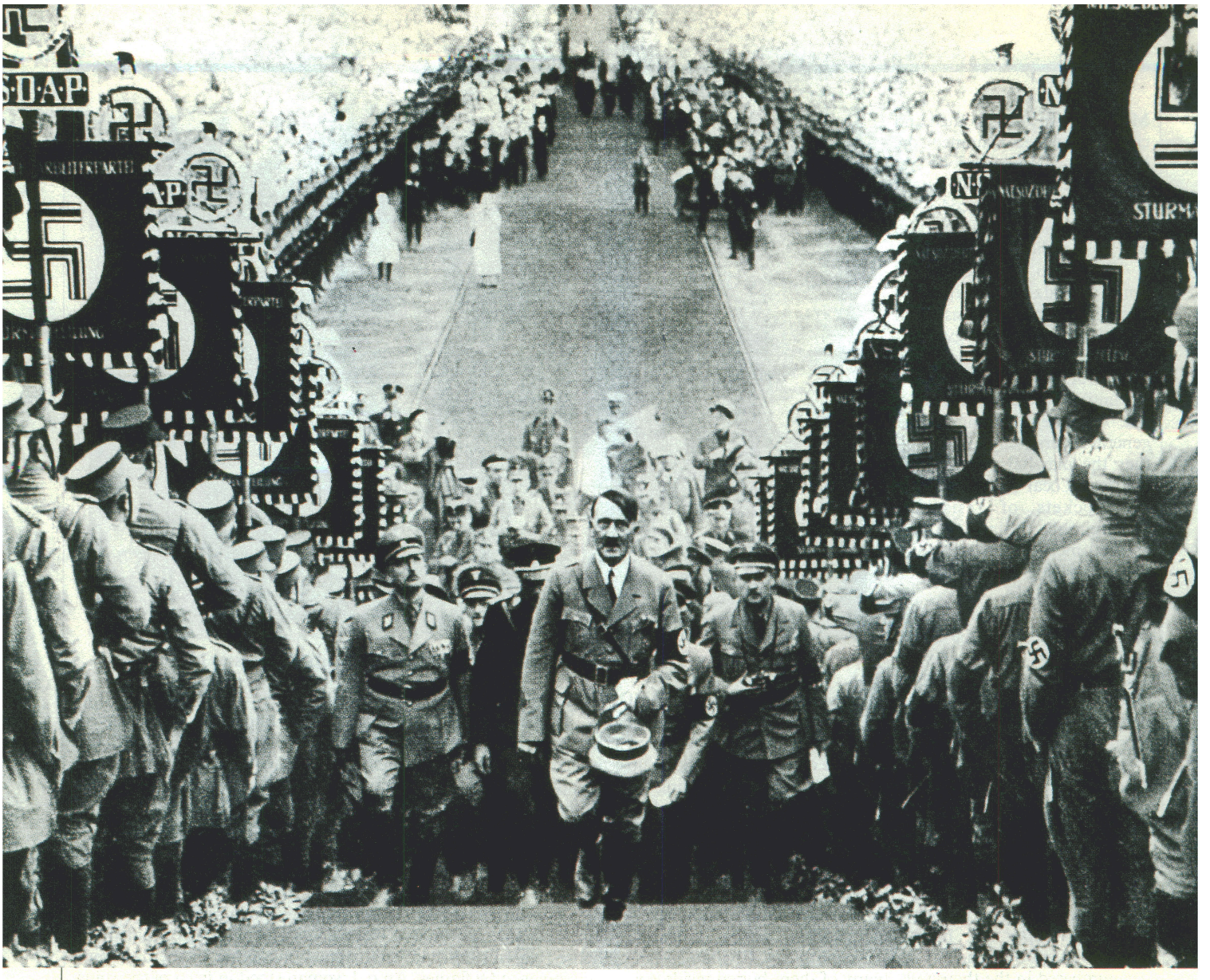
REMEMBRANCE

WOJCIECH JARUZELSKI

"I Thought the Heavens Had Fallen"

Poland's President, now 66, fled with his family to Lithuania and then Siberia three weeks after the Nazi invasion.

I still remember that sunny September day, the whizzing sound of German planes strafing defenseless refugees, exploding bombs, the stench of burning and dead horses at the roadside. I thought the heavens had fallen in on me. Relations between Lithuania and Poland were not very good, and we were held up at the border, adding to our sense of alarm and fear. We were convinced that we would return home soon, that a British-French offensive would enable the Polish army to go on fighting against the overwhelming forces of the enemy. Not for a moment did I think I would not return to Poland for more than four years.



PART 2

Road to War

Every time a Hitler threat ended in compromise, Hitler won

Accurate scholarship can
Unearth the whole offence
From Luther until now
That has driven a culture mad . . .

—*SEPTEMBER 1, 1939,* by W.H. AUDEN

When the German delegation of 180 diplomats and technicians went to Versailles in 1919 to negotiate a peace treaty ending World War I, the French forced their train to creep along at 10 m.p.h. so that the Germans would get a vivid sense of the devastation their armies had wrought. In Versailles's Hall of Mirrors, Premier Georges Clemenceau had ominous words for them: "The hour has struck for the weighty settlement of our account."

That account dated back not just to the murderous offensives on the Somme in 1916, but to 1870, when Prussian Chancellor Otto von Bismarck provoked Emperor Napoleon III into declaring war, then smashed him at Sedan, annexed the iron-rich provinces of Alsace and Lorraine and imposed on France a heavy financial indemnity. But the Germans had their own view of this account, in which they had repeatedly been attacked and despoiled by the French, by Napoleon, by Louis XIV. Indeed, this conflict went back beyond the birth of either nation, to the time when the Romans subdued the Gauls but not the Germans, thus establishing the Rhine as the frontier of what was then considered the civilized world.

The Allied terms at Versailles were harsh. France would regain Alsace and Lorraine, as well as a trusteeship over the rich coal mines of the Saar. The Austro-Hungarian and Turkish empires would be chopped up into a goulash of new nations like Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. A newly independent Poland acquired parts of the German industrial area of Upper Silesia, Posen and West

HEINRICH HOFFMANN—TIME INC.

FÜHRER AND FAITHFUL

Flanked by Storm Troopers, Hitler makes his entry at Nazi rally in Bückeburg

Prussia, providing it with a corridor to the Baltic Sea. Germany alone would be disarmed, forbidden to maintain more than 100,000 troops or have any major warships, submarines, warplanes or tanks. Germany would have to admit formally to being guilty of aggression and pay all war damages, a sum estimated at more than $100 billion (around $600 billion in today's dollars). Until the Germans accepted these terms, the Allies would continue the strangling naval blockade they imposed in 1915. The Germans signed.

Germany was in a state of turmoil, ruin and mass hunger. It had lost nearly 2 million men, and its mutinous army had virtually disintegrated. Kaiser Wilhelm II had fled into exile in Holland. The Social Democrats had proclaimed a republic, with themselves in charge, and the Communists were challenging them for control of the streets. And in a hospital northeast of Berlin, raging at the nation's defeat, lay a 29-year-old Austrian corporal partly blinded by mustard gas. "In vain all the sacrifices," Adolf Hitler later wrote in *Mein Kampf* (My Struggle). "In vain the death of 2 million . . . Hatred grew in me, hatred for those responsible for this deed . . . I decided to go into politics."

His start was less than auspicious. He joined a tiny Bavarian outfit that called itself the German Workers Party. He began making speeches, denouncing Bolsheviks, capitalists, the Jews, the French. Germany had lost the war only because it had been betrayed at home by a "stab in the back." By 1923, as the new Weimar Republic was sinking into deep economic troubles, Hitler staged an absurd "beer-hall putsch" and led a march through Munich. He was arrested and sentenced to five years in prison (he served nine months). "You may pronounce us guilty a thousand times over," he declared at his trial, "but the goddess of the eternal court of history acquits us."

Larger forces were aggravating the conflicts that Hitler would eventually exploit. In 1923 the Germans stalled on their reparations payments and the French seized the industrial Ruhr to compel payment. The German mark, declining ever since the war, began plunging: 7,000 to the dollar in January, 160,000 in July, 1 million in August. A kind of madness swept the country. People carried suitcases of money to a store to buy a sausage. And the mark kept falling, to an all-time low of 4.2 trillion that November. Everything was for sale, all savings were destroyed, and nothing seemed to have any value any longer. No less than military defeat and social upheaval, the hyperinflation undermined all the traditional securities of German society.

Recovery did come eventually, with lots of American and British loans, but the Wall Street Crash of 1929 started a worldwide depression to which the shaky German economy was especially vulnerable. Unemployment soared. The feeble Social Democratic coalition government collapsed. And Adolf Hitler, whose Nazi Party held an insignificant twelve seats in the Reichstag, suddenly became a voice that attracted attention. He was one of the first 20th century figures to master radio as an important political medium. His message: Down with the system. Vote for a leader who will bring us back to greatness.

The economic crisis provided Hitler not only with a strong message but also with manpower. He recruited the unemployed as his Storm Troopers, put them in brown shirts and boots and sent them out to do battle. "Hate exploded suddenly, without warning, out of nowhere, at street corners, in restaurants, cinemas, dance halls," wrote Christopher Isherwood in *The Berlin Stories,* which eventually became *Cabaret.* "Knives were whipped out, blows were dealt with spiked rings, beer-mugs, chair-legs or leaded clubs." In September 1930 the Nazis won 6.5 million votes, and their 107 Reichstag seats made them the second strongest party.

Split between Nazis and Communists as well as several traditional parties, the Reichstag became ungovernable. That gave crucial political power to a man who was supposed to be a figurehead, President Paul von Hindenburg, commander of Germany's armies during the war. Hindenburg was 83, vain, righteous and inclined to long naps. Since the Reichstag could not agree on a policy, he appointed some of his favorites as Chancellors, letting them rule by presidential decree.

But the Nazis kept winning elections. In the summer of 1932, the Nazis doubled their Reichstag seats, to 230 out of 608; Hitler's blustering, barrel-shaped lieutenant, Hermann Göring, became president of the legislature. Hindenburg despised Hitler, "that Austrian corporal," but he asked him to serve as Vice Chancellor under Hindenburg's protégé, Franz von Papen. Hitler rejected any compromises.

In the first week in January, everything suddenly changed. Papen, bent on revenge for having been replaced as Chancellor by General Kurt von Schleicher, decided to make a deal with Hitler. At a secret meeting, several prominent financiers promised credit to the financially pressed Nazis. Once again, Hindenburg proposed a Papen-Hitler coalition, only with Hitler as Chancellor. This time Hitler agreed. And so, on Jan. 30, 1933, this half-educated ex-Austrian with a genius for manipulation and deceit became, quite legally, the leader of Germany.

Hindenburg and the other conservatives were confident that they could keep Hitler under control. They held eight of the eleven Cabinet seats, including such power centers as the Foreign Ministry and the Economics Ministry. What they did not seem to appreciate was that Göring was not only a national Minister Without Portfolio but also the Prussian interior minister; that put him in charge of the police in the state of Prussia, which covered Berlin and two-thirds of Germany.

Hitler had no sooner taken office than he had Hindenburg dissolve the Reichstag and order new elections. With Göring in charge of the police, 40,000 Nazis became special officers, invading opposition meetings, beating and arresting opposition speakers. Just a week before the election, Berliners saw a red glow in the night sky and learned that the Reichstag was on fire. At the scene, Göring was shouting wildly: "This is a Communist crime against the new government! We will show no mercy! Every Communist deputy must be shot!"

Independent experts assumed from the beginning that the Nazis had started the fire, but Hitler immediately made it his pretext for seizing power. He persuaded Hindenburg to sign a decree that gave the government broad powers to make arrests, search homes, confiscate property and impose "restrictions on personal liberty, on the right of free expression of opinion." The Storm Troopers were in power now, and mass arrests began. "My mission is only to destroy and exterminate," said Göring.

In their last free (or semifree) elections, held March 5, 1933,

U.S. ARMY SIGNAL CORPS

VERSAILLES: SEEDBED OF WAR

Diplomats assemble in the Hall of Mirrors to draw up a peace treaty, but it creates new conflicts

the Germans gave their new dictator 44% of their votes. Hitler never won a majority in an election, but that 44% brought the Nazis, along with their right-wing allies of the Nationalist Party, their first majority in the Reichstag. So Hitler presented the Reichstag with an "enabling act" that would surrender most of its powers to what was now very much his Cabinet. Some Communists and socialists—those not already in jail—protested, but while the Nazi delegates cheered and shouted, the Reichstag docilely voted itself out of business. All that remained for Hitler's assumption of total power was the death of Hindenburg, which occurred the following year. Hitler simply abolished the presidency, named himself Führer and had his decision ratified in a plebiscite by nearly 90% of the people.

Throughout these first years of the Third Reich, Hitler imposed a process that the Nazis called *Gleichschaltung,* which means standardization or making things the same. All political parties except the Nazis were banned as divisive. Leftist union leaders were arrested and replaced by Nazis preaching the harmonious unity of the working classes (strikes were banned). Joseph Goebbels, the Propaganda Minister, rallied students to a vast bonfire outside the University of Berlin, where the works of illustrious liberals (Emile Zola) and Jews (Heinrich Heine) were consigned to the flames. Jews were barred from public office, the civil service and professions like teaching and journalism. The basic idea behind all this was embodied in the slogan *"Ein Volk, Ein Reich, Ein Führer"* (One people, one nation, one leader).

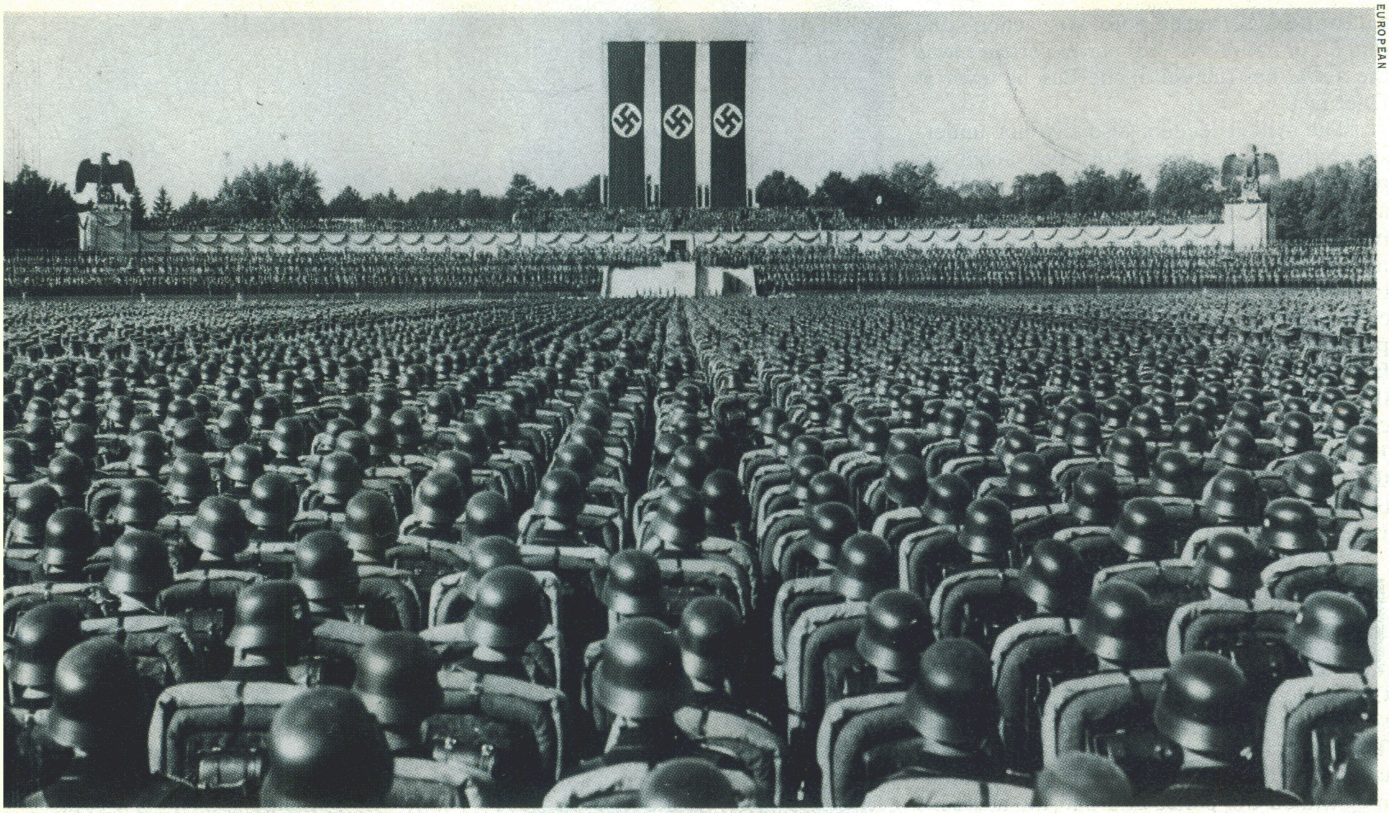
Some of the best and brightest left the country. Thomas Mann left, and Albert Einstein, Hans Bethe, Bertolt Brecht, Kurt Weill, Paul Tillich, Walter Gropius, Mies van der Rohe, Fritz Lang, Billy Wilder. Some of the less fortunate fell into the hands of Göring's police and ended up in a little village outside Munich where the Nazis had built their first concentration camp. It was called Dachau. This was not yet the era of the gas chambers but rather of the truncheon, not mass murder but the gradual silencing of all opposition. "They came first for the Communists, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Communist," said Pastor Martin Niemöller, a former U-boat commander who had once briefly supported the Nazis but eventually spent four years in Dachau. "Then they came for the Jews, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Jew. Then they came for the Catholics, and I didn't speak up because I was a Protestant. Then they came for me, and by that time there was no one left to speak up."

Throughout these ugly years, though, the majority of Germans seemed fairly content with their New Order. "The Nazi terror in the early years affected the lives of relatively few Germans," recalled William Shirer, author of *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich,* who went to report on Germany in 1934, "and a newly arrived observer was somewhat surprised to see that the people of this country did not seem to feel that they were being cowed and held down by an unscrupulous and brutal dictatorship. On the contrary, they supported it with genuine enthusiasm. Somehow it imbued them with a new hope."

They had some very practical reasons. Hitler had substantially revived the economy. Unemployment, so pivotal in bringing him to power, had dropped from 6 million to less than 1 million between 1933 and 1937, this at a time when the U.S. was still wallowing in the Depression. National production and income doubled during the same period. This was partly owing to Hitler's rearmament policy, but also to more benign forms of public spending. The world's first major highway system, the autobahns, began snaking across the country, and there was talk of providing every citizen with a cheap, standardized car, the people's car, or *Volkswagen.*

One of the most impressive of the new public buildings was the Olympic stadium in Berlin, and there Hitler welcomed the powerful and famous of other lands—for example, the celebrated American aviator Charles Lindbergh—to his refurbished capital. And despite the fuss over a black American, Jesse Owens, winning four gold medals at the 1936 Berlin Olympics, the team that scored the most points overall was Nazi Germany's.

It was inevitable that an economically reviving Germany



EUROPEAN

NUREMBERG: THE SEEDS GROW

Black-helmeted SS guards throng to cheer Hitler at annual Nazi Party Congress

would increase its pressure for major revisions in the Versailles Treaty. When the new President Roosevelt proposed the abolition of all major offensive weapons, Hitler was quick to agree—easy enough since Germany had been forbidden to possess such weapons. "Germany would also be perfectly ready to disband her entire military establishment . . . if the neighboring countries will do the same," Hitler declared. That "if" was the shield behind which he planned to rearm. When Britain and France declined, Hitler indignantly announced that Germany was leaving the Geneva disarmament talks and the League of Nations.

In secret, Hitler had already told his generals that he wanted to triple the German army from the Versailles ceiling of 100,000 men to 300,000 by October 1934. The navy, which was not supposed to have any ships of more than 10,000 tons, got orders to start building two 26,000-ton battle cruisers. In the spring of 1935, Hitler announced that he was reintroducing universal military service to create an army of 500,000 men. The Allies protested but did nothing.

At dawn on March 7, 1936, Hitler made the first bold use of his growing Wehrmacht. Though his generals had warned him that the French would resist and that Germany was still too weak to fight, Hitler sent three battalions across the Rhine to occupy the supposedly demilitarized Rhineland. "We have no territorial demands to make in Europe," he proclaimed. "Germany will never break the peace!" It was all bluff. "If the French had then marched into the Rhineland, we would have had to withdraw with our tails between our legs," Hitler later said. "A retreat on our part would have spelled collapse."

There were several reasons for this Western irresolution. The memories of the war ran deep, and nobody was eager for more bloodshed. Both Britain and France were concerned with their own serious economic troubles. But particularly in Britain, there was a widespread view that Versailles had indeed been unfair, that the Germans had a strong case. George Bernard Shaw, for example, spoke of Hitler's "triumphant rescue of his country from the yoke the Allies imposed."

With hindsight it is clear that the Allies should and easily could have stopped Hitler by force, and their failure has long been condemned as "appeasement." But to the leaders of Britain and France, appeasement was a proudly proclaimed policy, meaning simply negotiating rather than fighting. "Appeasement between the wars was always a self-confident creed," Churchill biographer Martin Gilbert wrote in *The Roots of Appeasement*. "It was both utopian and practical. Its aim was peace for all time, or at least for as long as wise men could devise it."

Unlike the Allied leaders, though, Hitler was fully prepared to back up his policies by force, even if only obliquely or by proxy. When General Francisco Franco launched a military revolt against the Republican government of Spain in 1936, Hitler saw a chance not only to acquire a new ally but also to discomfit the neighboring French. He sent bombers, tanks and "volunteers." Göring used Spain as a training ground for "my young

REMEMBRANCE

SIMONE VEIL

"Little Boxes of Ashes"

President of the European Parliament from 1979 to 1982, Veil, now 62, was shipped to Auschwitz in 1944, where most of her family perished.

I was scared all the time. I was always aware that, after all, we could lose this war. As Jews, we felt more threatened. With the Anschluss, girls at our school who were refugees told of humiliation, of Jews being forced to scrub the sidewalks with toothbrushes in Vienna. When some told of receiving little boxes of ashes from Dachau, we had great difficulty believing that people were actually being killed. Nobody imagined that there could be a plan for extermination.

Luftwaffe." Its most notorious action, one that other nations would soon experience, was the aerial destruction of the Basque town of Guernica.

The Allied leaders also did not understand that Hitler repeatedly lied about his plans and intentions. In a speech justifying rearmament in 1935, he declared, "Germany neither intends nor wishes to interfere in the internal affairs of Austria, to annex Austria or to conclude an Anschluss [unification]." He even signed a treaty with Austria in 1936 promising not to interfere in its internal affairs. But he was an Austrian, after all, and the idea of uniting the two Germanic nations can never have been far from his mind. By 1937, when he called in his generals and told them to prepare for war, he said, "Our first objective . . . must be to overthrow Czechoslovakia and Austria."

COLLECTION OF STEFAN LOVOUT

COURTESY YAD V'SHEM ARCHIVES

He had actually made an abortive attempt to seize Austria in 1934, when some 150 SS men dressed in Austrian army uniforms burst into the Chancellery in Vienna and shot down Conservative Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuss. That was supposed to be the start of a Nazi coup, but Justice Minister Kurt von Schuschnigg rallied the police and had the assassins arrested. Italy, which had guaranteed Austrian independence, mobilized four divisions on the frontier. Hitler backed down. By 1938, however, he had built a threatening army and had won the support of Italy's Mussolini (they had signed a secret protocol in 1936 creating what Mussolini called the Rome-Berlin axis). It was time to try again.

Hitler's strategy was a classic example of what came to be known as a war of nerves. All through 1937, Austrian Nazis, armed and financed from Germany, staged demonstrations, street fights, midnight bombings. Schuschnigg, now Chancellor, banned the party and kept arresting its agents. In February 1938 Hitler invited the Austrian leader to his Alpine retreat in Berchtesgaden. There he stormed at his visitor, declaring that the Austrian problem must be solved or his army would demand its "just revenge." When Schuschnigg asked what it was that Hitler wanted, he was handed a typed "agreement" and told that no changes would be allowed. It called for all arrested Nazis to be amnestied, the ban on the party to be lifted, Nazis to be appointed to head the Police and War ministries and an economic merger of the two nations. When Schuschnigg balked, Hitler shouted, "Fulfill my demands within three days, or I will order the march into Austria!"

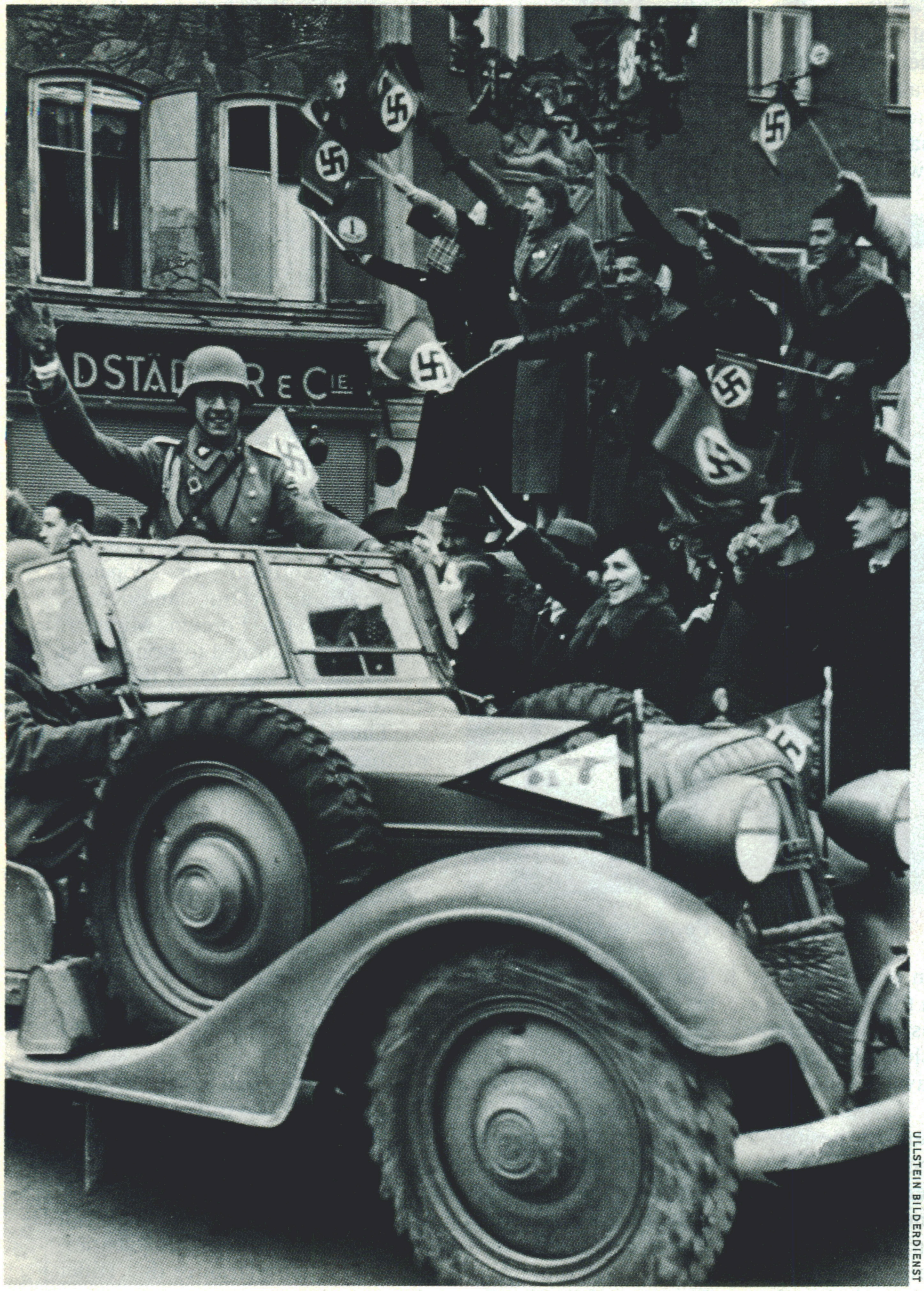
Schuschnigg surrendered and returned home. But President Wilhelm Miklas, who had not experienced Hitler's persuasion, refused to accept the deal. When Hitler heard that, he ordered the Wehrmacht to mobilize, as publicly as possible. Schuschnigg tried to defend his regime by announcing a plebiscite in four days, on March 13, to decide whether Austrians wanted "a free, independent, social, Christian and united Austria." Hitler, apoplectic, ordered the Wehrmacht to invade Austria on March 12 unless Schuschnigg called off the plebiscite. Once again Schuschnigg surrendered, but Hitler kept increasing his demands. Now he insisted that Schuschnigg resign and be replaced by Nazi leader Arthur Seyss-Inquart. Schuschnigg again surrendered, and resigned, but President Miklas refused to name Seyss-Inquart.

By now Nazi mobs had encircled the Chancellery, shrieking "Sieg Heil! Heil Hitler!" On the telephone from Berlin, Göring dictated a telegram to Seyss-Inquart in which "the provisional Austrian government" asked Germany to send troops to restore order. On March 12 the Wehrmacht came streaming across the border—not only unopposed but warmly welcomed by thousands of Austrians who genuinely wanted union with Germany. Next day, Seyss-Inquart issued a decree that announced, "Austria is a province of the German Reich." Hitler returned in triumph to the Vienna where he had once lived as a virtual derelict. Papen described him as being "in a state of ecstasy."

Britain and France again protested but did nothing, so Hitler's aggressiveness had conquered a whole country without a shot being fired. And with that conquest came severe repression.

SILENCING ALL OPPOSITION

Nazi students burn "alien" books in Berlin in 1933; first concentration camp is built at Dachau, near Munich



ULLSTEIN BILDERDIENST

FIRST CONQUEST

After terrorism and threats, Hitler's army occupies Austria in 1938 without a shot being fired

When Hitler went to Vienna, Heinrich Himmler's police began to arrest 79,000 "unreliables." Schuschnigg was kept in a single room at police headquarters and assigned to cleaning toilets for 17 months, then shipped to Dachau. Jews were rounded up and made to get on their hands and knees and scrub away Schuschnigg campaign slogans.

In Germany too the treatment of Jews kept getting worse. The Nuremberg racial laws of 1935 deprived them of German citizenship and forbade them to marry or have sexual relations with "Aryans." In 1938 they were barred from practicing law or medicine or engaging in commerce. Along with such laws came all forms of discrimination—signs barring them from grocery stores or drugstores or even whole towns—and the constant threat of violence from any bad-tempered policeman, any unruly crowd.

In November 1938, after a Jewish student assassinated the Third Secretary at the German embassy in Paris, the Nazis staged a nationwide pogrom, burning Jewish homes and synagogues and smashing so many windows that the rampage became known as *Kristallnacht* (death toll: 91). Yet again the Western Allies protested but did nothing. London maintained its strict limits on Jews' going to British-ruled Palestine, and the U.S. resisted any increase in its immigration quotas.

Each triumph filled Hitler with ever greater confidence in his invincibility, in his political instincts and in the irresolution of his antagonists. Having easily conquered Austria, he decided in the spring of 1938 to attack Czechoslovakia. Like Poland, Czechoslovakia had been carved out of the Habsburg Empire by the mapmakers at Versailles, and its boundaries included an awkward mixture of roughly 6.5 million Czechs, 3.3 million Germans, 2.5 million Slovaks and about 800,000 Hungarians and Poles. Unlike Poland, it was a genuine democracy with a large and well-equipped army; it also had signed a treaty that pledged France to defend it against any attack.

As in Austria, Hitler's war of nerves began with a wave of terrorist bombings and street riots. Berlin sponsored this violence with payments to Konrad Henlein, leader of Czechoslovakia's Sudeten German Party. It also gave him his instructions, which Henlein himself once summed up: "We must always demand so much from the Czechs that we can never be satisfied." When Czech President Eduard Beneš first asked Henlein what he wanted, the list included political autonomy, payment of damages, separate citizenship for Sudeten Germans and freedom to practice "the ideology of Germans." Beneš refused.

Rumors, possibly false, suddenly spread in May 1938 that German troops were concentrating on the Czech frontier. Beneš ordered a partial mobilization, the British expressed "grave concern," and the French warned Berlin that they were ready to fight. One of Hitler's top generals thereupon announced that it had all been a mistake, that there had been no German troop movements. By appearing to stand firm for the first time, the Allies seemed to have made Hitler back down. But this apparent victory had two important results: the Allies were appalled at how near to war they had come, and Hitler determined on revenge. He told his generals, "It is my unalterable decision to smash Czechoslovakia by military action in the near future." He even set a date: Oct. 1.

Hitler's antagonists had changed over the years, and now the important newcomer on the international scene was Neville Chamberlain, who had replaced Stanley Baldwin as Conservative Prime Minister of Britain in the spring of 1937. Chamberlain's background was in business; he believed in orderly negotiations. He had no experience in dealing with an unscrupulous improviser like Hitler, but he nonetheless invited himself to a meeting with the Führer. Hitler received him in Berchtesgaden, and soon began ranting about the Czechs. He said he would not "tolerate any longer that a small, second-rate country should treat the mighty thousand-year-old German Reich as something inferior." Shocked, Chamberlain threatened to leave. Hitler, who had never previously asked to take over part of Czechoslovakia, now claimed

that he wanted "the principle ... of self-determination."

Chamberlain said he would have to consult with his associates, which amounted to seeing whether either the British or the French were ready to fight for Czechoslovakia. They were not. Chamberlain then had to persuade Beneš to give Germany every area inhabited more than 50% by Germans. That would mean the surrender of the entire Sudetenland, which represented not only one-fifth of Czechoslovakia's territory but also its industrial heartland and its defensible natural frontier. Beneš at first refused, but when the British and French told him that he would have to fight alone, he gave in.

The next day Chamberlain returned to Germany to tell Hitler he could have everything he asked. "Do I understand," asked the Führer, "that the British, French and Czech governments have agreed to the transfer of the Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia to Germany?"

"Yes," said Chamberlain.

"I am terribly sorry," said Hitler, "but that no longer suits me." The German leader seemed determined to humiliate the Czechs and expose the weakness of the British and French. He no longer wanted a plebiscite. The Czechs would simply have to hand over the Sudetenland by Oct. 1, or the Germans would invade. Now Chamberlain was angry. Returning to London, he found that the French were reluctantly ready to meet a German invasion with force, a decision in which he unhappily concurred. In London people began digging trenches to provide shelter from the expected air raids. "How horrible, fantastic, incredible it is," Chamberlain said in a radio speech to the nation, "that we should be digging trenches ... here because of a quarrel in a faraway country between people of whom we know nothing."

Having reached the brink of war, the warriors hesitated. Chamberlain sent a message to Mussolini suggesting a meeting with Hitler and French Premier Daladier. Hitler agreed. Chamberlain was in the midst of addressing Parliament when he received Hitler's invitation to Munich the following day; he almost gasped with relief as he announced his acceptance. The Czechs were not even invited, so it took only twelve hours for the four leaders to agree on Sept. 30 on the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia. And they were pleased with what they had done. When Chamberlain returned to London, he proudly uttered his most famous and most tragically mistaken declaration: "I believe it is peace for our time." The crowds outside 10 Downing Street sang, "For he's a jolly good fellow."

Having won everything, Hitler still could not be satisfied. The following spring, deciding that he now wanted more than just the Sudetenland, he held a conference with Czech President Emil Hácha in Berlin (Beneš had resigned and gone into exile after Munich). Hácha was 66 and suffering from heart trouble, so it did not help to have the meeting begin at 1:15 a.m. on March 15, 1939. Hitler told his guest that the Czechs were still guilty of "Beneš tendencies," and therefore the Wehrmacht would invade Czechoslovakia at 6 that morning. The only question was whether the Czechs would resist and be "ruthlessly broken" or cooperate and gain a certain "autonomy." Hácha and his Foreign Minister "sat as though turned to stone," said a German witness. "Only their eyes showed that they were alive."

L.N.A.

CHAMBERLAIN AS HERO "Peace for our time"

The Czechs then withdrew to another room to decide their course. The documents had already been laid out for them to sign, and Göring and Ribbentrop pursued them around the table, pushing documents and pens at them. Hácha fainted dead away. Hitler's personal doctor came and gave him an injection, and just before 4 a.m. he recovered sufficiently to sign away his country. The western provinces of Bohemia and Moravia became a German "protectorate"; Slovakia was granted a shadowy "independence."

There were the usual protests, with the usual results, but Hitler's seizure of Bohemia and Moravia had two important consequences. First, Chamberlain finally realized that appeasement would not suffice to restrain Hitler. So when Hitler began talking to the Poles in that same month about the Germans' need to regain the port of Danzig, plus free passage through the Polish Corridor, Chamberlain offered the Poles an unsolicited guarantee of British military support. It was that guarantee that Hitler flouted the following September.

The second important consequence was convincing Stalin that the Western powers would never resist Hitler's increasingly aggressive expansion eastward. Stalin had several times proposed a treaty with the Western powers to check Hitler's ambitions, but he had been ignored. With the treachery characteristic of him—he had purged dozens of his top army officers on false charges of conspiring with the Germans to overthrow him—he began exploring the possibility of signing an alliance with those same Germans. To Hitler, who had been ranting about "the struggle against Bolshevism" for nearly 20 years, it seemed like an offer he couldn't refuse.

If the German conflicts with France ran back for centuries, so did those with the Poles, conflicts tinged with contempt. Long before Hitler, General Hans von Seeckt, the haughty army commander during the Weimar Republic, had said of the frontiers established by Versailles, "Poland's existence is intolerable, incompatible with the essential conditions of Germany's life. Poland must go and will go." That was the mission that Hitler now vowed to carry out.

— Research by Peggy T. Berman and Brigid O'Hara-Forster/New York

REMEMBRANCE

LENI RIEFENSTAHL

Watching the Newsreels

Riefenstahl, 87, who served the Nazi cause by filming such propaganda masterpieces as Triumph of the Will, *attended one of Hitler's regular movie nights at his Berchtesgaden retreat in late August 1939.*

Before the main feature, as usual, the weekly newsreel was shown. The camera showed Moscow. A troop parade on Red Square. Stalin appeared in close-up. I watched Hitler intently looking at Stalin's face. Hitler interrupted, asking the projectionist to repeat the sequence two or three times. Visibly excited, he commented, "I rather like the way this man looks. I believe one could come to terms with him." Then he rose and retired to his room.

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Architect of Evil

How Adolf Hitler mesmerized a nation—and terrorized a world

BY STEFAN KANFER

One June morning in 1919, a Bavarian professor stopped to watch a 30-year-old corporal haranguing a group of students. "I had the peculiar feeling," the professor recalled, "that the man was feeding on the excitement that he himself had whipped up. I saw a pale, thin face and hair hanging down the forehead in unmilitary fashion. He had a close-cropped mustache, and his strikingly large, pale blue eyes shone with a cold fanatical light."

In the next 25 years the world was to grow fatally familiar with that sight: the forelock vibrating, the voice agitated, the stare fixed on destiny. Adolf Hitler seldom looked back; history was saturated with national and personal grievance. The future was what counted.

He had reason to despise what had gone before. Hitler's father was an Austrian civil servant, born illegitimate as Alois Schicklgruber (Alois was 39 before he acknowledged his origins and took his presumed father's surname). Although Alois was nominally a Roman Catholic, he placed his faith in the whip. When the sixth of his eight children misbehaved, he was beaten unmercifully. Schicklgruber/Hitler died when Adolf was 13, a lively and artistic youth racked by the need for recognition and the appetite for vengeance.

By Adolf Hitler's lights, there was much to avenge. The Vienna Academy of Fine Arts twice refused to admit the apprentice painter. Very well, then, he would become an architect. But he was unqualified for further study. These rejections were aggravated by the death of Hitler's beloved mother Klara. The young man with no vices—he neither drank nor smoked nor pursued women—drifted in the city, living in flophouses, supporting himself by illustrating street scenes and postcards.

His self-education was wide but shallow. Vienna was peopled with brilliant artists and thinkers; Sigmund Freud's researches, Arnold Schoenberg's music, Oskar Kokoschka's paintings, Arthur Schnitzler's plays, all had their roots in the city. But Hitler dismissed modern art as "decadent." To the impotent and solitary figure, power was what mattered, not aesthetics. *The*

HEINRICH HOFFMANN—BILDARCHIV PREUSS

HITLER

A flair for drama fatally linked with an appetite for vengeance

Ring of the Nibelung proved more fascinating for the drama than for the music. "Whoever wants to understand National Socialist Germany," Hitler often said, "must know Wagner." Particularly the heroic, irrational world of blood and fire.

In early 1914 Adolf, his head spinning with unassimilated ideas, was rejected by the Austrian army as "unfit for combatant and auxiliary duties, too weak. Unable to bear arms." The Bavarian military had no such reservations. At the beginning of World War I, he was issued a uniform and sent to the front. Even there the trooper was set apart. He received no mail, shared no confidences, had no girlfriend. A fellow enlistee remembered "this white crow among us that didn't go along with us when we damned the war to hell." In France the white crow distinguished himself under fire. Thanks to the initiative of a Jewish officer, Corporal Hitler was awarded the Iron Cross, First Class.

After the war, Hitler joined a new and violently anti-Semitic group, the forerunner of the National Socialist German Workers' Party—Nazi for short. There, for the first time since adolescence, he found a home and friends. Within a year, he became the chief Nazi propagandist. Judaism, he told his audiences, had produced the profiteers and Bolsheviks responsible for the defeat of the fatherland and the strangulation of the economy. Jews were bacilli infecting the arts, the press, the government. Pogroms would be insufficient. "The final aim must unquestionably be the irrevocable *Entfernung* [removal] of the Jews."

Early on, Hitler had a central insight: "All epoch-making revolutionary events have been produced not by the written but by the spoken word." He concentrated on an inflammatory speaking style flashing with dramatic gestures and catch phrases: "Germany, awake!" He ingeniously added a series of symbols that caught the national imagination. The most powerful was the *Hakenkreuz* (hooked cross), set in a circle and inscribed on a banner. "In *red*," he proclaimed, "we see the social idea of the movement, in *white* the nationalist idea, in the *swastika* the mission of the struggle for the victory of the Aryan man."

The Hitlerian pathology became more pronounced. He now regarded his audience as feminine: "The mass, the people, is for me a woman," ready to be seduced. But the seduction was figurative; the woman who seemed to beguile him most was Carola Hoffmann, an elderly widow. He frequently visited his admirer's home in a suburb of Munich, where she did his laundry and indulged his sweet tooth; acquaintances were once astonished to see Adolf put seven spoonfuls of sugar in his tea. When Frau Hoffmann offered to buy him a gift, he suggested a rhinoceros-hide dog whip like the one Alois had used long ago. There was every reason to agree with the appraisal of Hitler offered by the wife of an early follower: "I tell you, he is a neuter."

Initially, Hitler attracted those like himself, unappeased outsiders, misfits, losers. Joseph Goebbels was an unsuccessful novelist and playwright. Julius Streicher was a blackmailer. Ernst Röhm was a sadistic homosexual who advocated violence and murder. Hermann Göring was an air-force veteran without a scruple to his name. "I have no conscience," he liked to declare. "My conscience is Adolf Hitler." But then, Hitler was the conscience of all his cadre. Pan-Germanism was their creed, Adolf their Messiah. When criticized, Hitler would say, "Two thousand years ago, a man was similarly denounced . . . That man was dragged before a court, and they said, 'He is arousing the people!' So he too was an agitator!"

Before long Hitler was dragged before a court. He and his fellow Nazis had attempted an armed coup in Munich; when it failed, the instigators were imprisoned. Here at last was the longed-for martyrdom, and Hitler seized it. Up to now, events had formed the leader: Germany's humiliating loss of the Great War, the Allies' insistence on reparations, the monstrous inflation, the centuries-old distrust of Jewish professionals and merchants. From here on, the leader would create the events.

During his months behind bars, Hitler dictated *Mein Kampf*, the Nazi bible. The terrible arithmetic of the war and the Holocaust was prefigured on every page. Propaganda: "The German . . . people must be misled, if the support of the masses is required." Morality: "Success is the sole earthly judge of right and wrong." Tactics: "The one means that wins the easiest victory over reason: terror and force." Genetics: "All who are not of good race in this world are chaff."

Paroled on Dec. 19, 1924, Hitler spent the next five years reinvigorating the Nazi Party, exploiting Weimar democracy to bring down the Republic. The party's members were tireless, cajoling, exhorting, running for local offices, gathering about them a brutal élite guard called the Schutzstaffel, or SS. During this period an American journalist, Louis Lochner, watched the Nazi leader addressing students at Berlin University. "I came away from that meeting," he reported, "wondering how a man . . . who ranted and fumed and stamped could so impress young intellectuals. Of all people, I thought, they should have detected the palpable flaws in his logic."

But the flaws were in Hitler's overconfident detractors. The Nazi Party received strong support not only from the lower middle class but also from university students and professors. The existentialist Martin Heidegger joined the Nazi Party. Psychologist Carl Jung grew intoxicated with "the mighty phenomenon of National Socialism, at which the whole world gazes in astonishment." A young architect named Albert Speer found that Hit-

ler's oratory "swept away any skepticism, any reservations."

Among the others swept away were two pretty fräuleins. One was Hitler's unstable niece Geli Raubal, the only woman he ever truly loved. It was a sad and unfulfilled affair. On a September evening in 1931, after an argument with her uncle, Raubal fatally shot herself. He had only one subsequent lover, a young blond named Eva Braun. In 1932, frustrated by Hitler's inattention, she also aimed a pistol at herself, but the attempt failed. Nearly 13 years later, under Berlin's streets, the drama would be eerily restaged when Hitler took Braun for his bride, 40 hours before their double suicide by pistol, poison and flames.

Until that Walpurgisnacht, nothing could divert him from the goal of a new world order. In 1931 Hitler adopted a vegetarian diet, but it did not improve his disposition. Convinced—falsely—that he was suffering from a precancerous condition, he had a series of tantrums. "I cannot lose even a year," he cried. "I must come to power quickly in order to solve the gigantic problems in the little time remaining to me. I must! I must!"

Power arrived on Jan. 30, 1933. The unknown at 30 was named Chancellor of Germany at 43. From the beginning the Third Reich was a reflection of its new Führer. Hitler's triumphs should have increased his confidence. Instead they fed his paranoia. Röhm and his followers were purged and murdered. The nation's most original minds were exiled to a concentration-camp universe from which few returned. Military tactics that demanded objectivity were decided for personal reasons. Friends who came upon the Führer secretly reading with the aid of spectacles were told, "You see, I need glasses. I am getting old, and that is why I prefer to wage war at 50 rather than 60."

He turned to amphetamines, but these only increased his intimations of mortality. On another June morning, almost 21 years to the day after he caught the attention of the Bavarian professor, Hitler was taken on a triumphal tour of Paris. He paused at Napoleon's tomb, placed his cap over his heart, bowed and gazed at the crypt. Then the Führer turned to a favorite and said somberly, "You will build my tomb." But construction had already begun on that mausoleum. At its completion five years later, it would also accommodate some 50 million others. It was called the Third Reich, and its designer was Adolf Hitler. The failed student was destined to be remembered as an architect after all. ■

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NEXT WEEK

PART 3: Desperate Years
Hitler sweeps through Europe, but a formidable foe emerges

PART 4: What If . . .?
How the outcome could have been different

PLUS: Japan and the war in the Pacific

A "Light Luncheon" with the Führer

The sound was like a tide pushing everything before it, remembers Richard Helms. He had never heard anything like it before, nor has he in the 53 years since Sept. 13, 1936.

By some strange fate Helms rode in the car just behind Adolf Hitler's that day in Nuremberg. Helms would later become director of the Central Intelligence Agency, but then he was a 23-year-old United Press reporter lucky enough to get a glimpse of history being forged. For 20 minutes, Hitler stood beside his SS chauffeur in his special Mercedes-Benz, engulfed in the frightening adoration that he ignited. Hitler's car moved slowly; his bodyguards in other vehicles patrolled at the sides, automatic weapons laid out on the car floors. The bareheaded Hitler, so ordinary a man in himself, seemed transformed. "The nonchalant flip of the hand and a faint smile acknowledged the tributes," Helms recalls. "Even little children spontaneously shot out their arms." The bright sun glanced off the red Nazi flags hanging everywhere.

That morning Helms and a few other foreign correspondents had watched from the stands as Hitler marched to somber, rolling drums through 200,000 uniformed followers. "The wonder of this age is that you have found me—an unknown man among millions!" Hitler shouted.

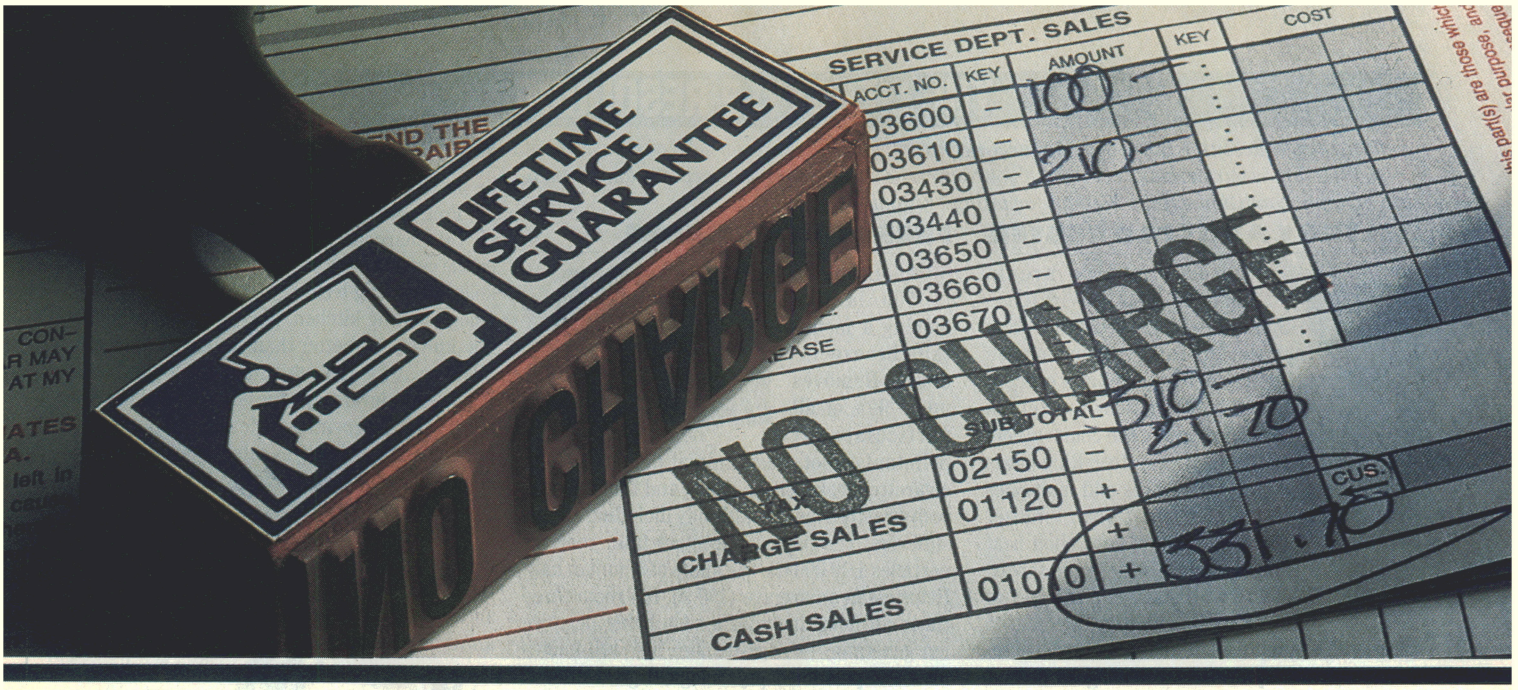
HEINRICH HOFFMAN—TIME INC.

Invited to a "light luncheon" with the Führer, Helms was directed to a nearby castle, and made his way to the battlements. "Suddenly I heard from behind me a throaty voice say in German, 'That's a lovely view.' " Helms turned and was face to face with Hitler, who had stepped onto the balcony.

Helms recently exhumed his notes, which were written later. "A firm handshake, the Nazi salute, a smile. The personality of Germany's dictator was not hypnotic. Physical appearance: less attractive than from a distance. Hair: dark brown, fine in texture, inclined to rustiness in front, slightly graying on the crown. Eyes: bright blue. Skin: coarse with a pinkish tinge. Mustache: slightly shot with gray. Teeth: bottom row gold-plated, which leads to the hunch that they are false. Stature: shorter than expected. Uniform: brown boots and breeches, simple brown shirt, adorned only by the Iron Cross and Nazi brassard. Smile: humorless. Salute: stylized by throwing the hand back over the shoulder. Manner: pleasant, usually not at ease, knees moving back and forth nervously."

Bolshevism was mentioned. "It was like hitting Hitler with a torpedo. He assumed the platform manner on a small scale, the toss of the head, the laugh of scorn, the sweep of the hand. Only the snarl was missing. 'I have only one fear,' Hitler said. 'It is that the countries around us, into which the poison of Bolshevism is eating its way, will succumb to the Red wave one after another. Moscow is seeking to dominate Europe. We shall never permit that.' "

Just as suddenly Hitler subsided. He stepped to the parapet and waved to a few below who were shouting, "We want to see our Führer!" Then the group went to lunch, Hitler surrounded by party members. He dined quickly and lightly. Helms recalls noting that the Führer's favorite chocolates were neatly arranged next to his plate. ***—By Hugh Sidey/Washington***



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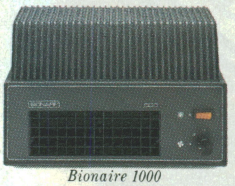

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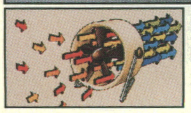

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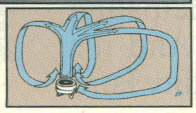

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People

BY EMILY MITCHELL/Reported by Wendy Cole

NEAL PRESTON—OUTLINE

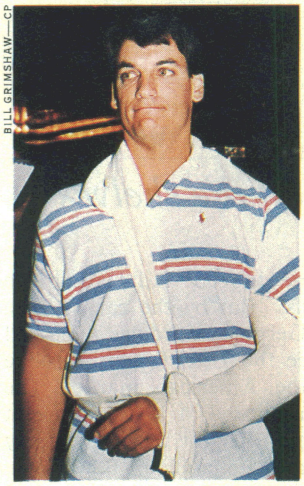
Even Cowgirls Sing Blues

"Canadians have always been demure neighbors," says k.d. LANG. Not that the singer-songwriter from tiny Consort, Alta., holds back at all when she's onstage. Now on an eight-month worldwide tour, she's filling sold-out theaters with a big, clear voice that's as fresh as a prairie wind. "Performing is my element," says the quirky, punk cowgirl. "It's what I live for." Deejays aren't sure what to make of the country-pop-bluesy blend, so her songs sometimes lag in radio play. That's O.K. with k.d., as long as it leaves her free to keep doing her exuberant torch and twang. Says she: "I wouldn't have got this far without sticking to my guns."

MITZI TRUMBO

Chitchat

"My golf game was getting better," says **Dinah Shore,** so she resisted starting yet another TV show. But half an hour's talk with one guest on each program couldn't be finah, so next week she'll launch TNN's *A Conversation with Dinah*. For its debut, she'll chat up old chum **Nancy Reagan.** In her first interview since leaving the White House, Nancy recalls her first date with Ron. Each warily told the other about the next day's work schedule, but as the memorable evening lengthened, "we both knew that neither one had an early-morning call."



BILL GRIMSHAW—CP

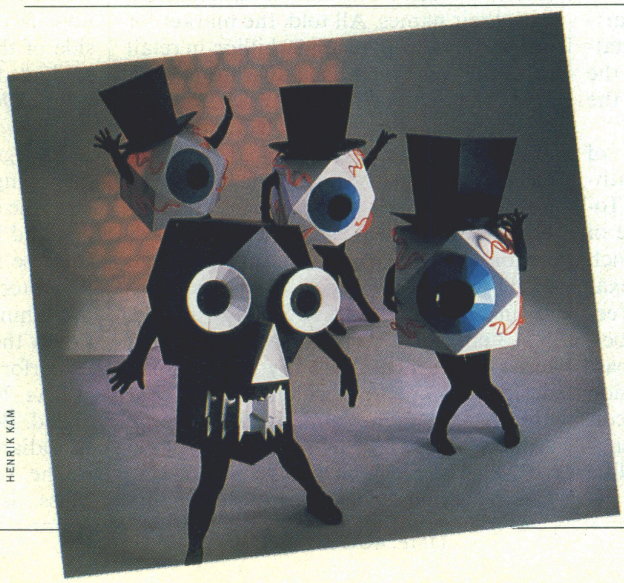
Bittersweet

His return was the stuff of legends. After removal of a cancerous tumor from his left arm last year, it seemed **Dave Dravecky** might not pitch again. But the San Francisco Giants' lefthander came back splendidly and was going against Montreal last week, when he heaved a mighty pitch—and something cracked. He fell to the ground, his arm broken. Later he told a teammate, "It was better to have had a taste of honey than never to have come back at all."

Comrade!

If his grandparents hadn't left for the U.S., **Billy Crystal** could have been in the Politburo. The comedian's heritage figures in a just filmed fall TV special. Besides cavorting in Red Square and staging a family reunion, he did a stand-up routine at a Moscow theater. "I was getting laughs in Russian!" he says. The audience delighted in a Crystallization—mimed to jazz—of a debate between **Mikhail Gorbachev** and Communist radical **Boris Yeltsin.**

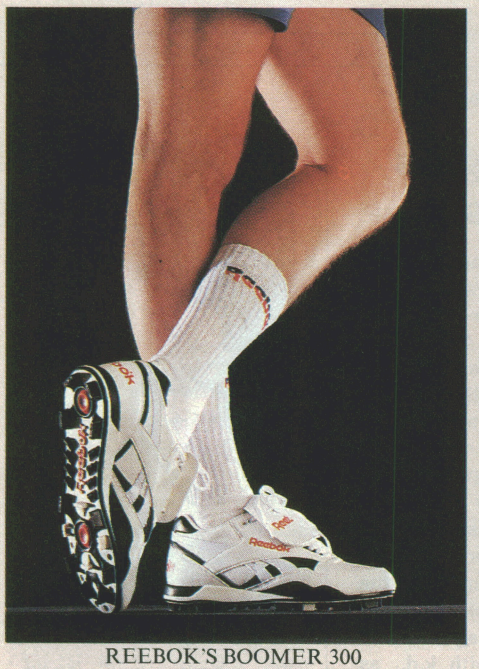
KEN REGAN—CAMERA 5



HENRIK KAM

The Eyes Have It

When a demo tape was returned by a record company addressed to "Residents," the avant-garde group gladly adopted the anonymous moniker. Seventeen years and some 20 albums later, THE RESIDENTS still won't reveal their identities, which are hidden behind masks and luminescent orbs. And without mentioning ELVIS PRESLEY by name, they pay homage to rock's biggest star on their upcoming album, *The King and Eye*. Synthesized, melancholy versions of *Hound Dog* and *All Shook Up* accompany a fable about a baby who became King. But, ask the unblinking eyes, King of what?

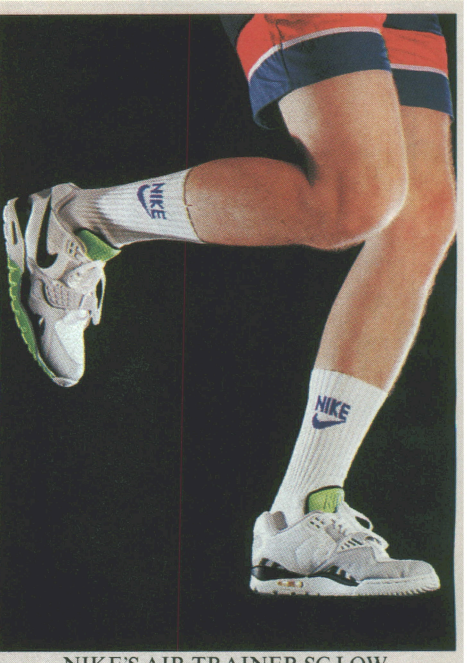


REEBOK'S BOOMER 300

Baseball cleats for spring 1990, $55

L.A. GEAR'S MISS RAWHIDE

For cruising in style, $64



NIKE'S AIR TRAINER SC LOW

Versatile performer for next spring, $100

Business

Foot's Paradise

With a mix of fashion and engineering, athletic shoes leap off the shelves

BY BARBARA RUDOLPH

Jennifer the Valley Girl, whose most strenuous exercise consists of cruising the local shopping mall, favors $64 pink L.A. Gear athletic shoes with Western-style, imitation-silver buckles. Arthur the accountant, who bicycles ten miles before picking up his calculator in the morning, wears TC Lite, Nike's $85 cycling model. His weekend tennis partner rushes the net in Reebok's $80 Italian-made Cosenza tennis shoes, with the brand name discreetly scrawled in the corner.

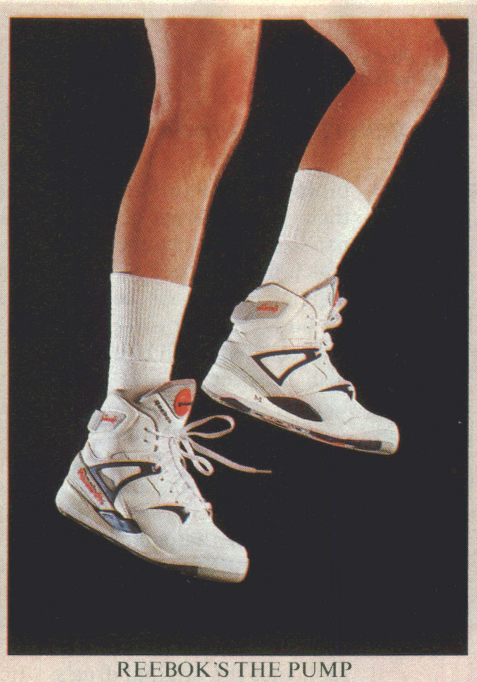
Only fuddy-duddies still think of sneakers as inexpensive, all-purpose athletic shoes with heavy rubber soles. Today's models are an exacting mixture of fashion and technology, composed of such materials as synthetic leather and Hexalite, a cushiony substance used in Reebok's newest soles. Not just athletic shoes, they are space-age wonders that boast such features as air-cylinder suspension systems, anatomically molded ankle collars, outrigger soles and adjustable support straps. They answer to names like Air Skylon, 360 Jam, Disc-Drive and Tiger Gel Epirus. Manufacturers are bombarding customers with different models for "technical" and "nontechnical" running, for walking, wrestling and even coaching and cheerleading.

As a result, Americans are lacing up 200 million pairs of brand-name athletic shoes a year. Not satisfied to sell only shoes, companies are diversifying into T shirts, sweaters and shorts emblazoned with their names. All told, the market for athletic shoes will reach $9 billion in retail sales this year, up about 15% from 1988. In a grueling race for market share, once sagging Nike is racing back with revenues of $1.7 billion for the fiscal year that ended in May. Analysts estimate that Nike now claims a 26% share of the market for brand-name athletic shoes. Based in Beaverton, Ore., the company is nosing ahead of its archrival Reebok, which controls about 22% of the market. Striding into the No. 3 position is trendy L.A. Gear, which has grabbed about 13% by selling shoes designed more for fashion than performance. Among the runners-up: Converse, Adidas, Keds and New Balance.

When the jogging and fitness craze began in the mid-1970s, athletic-shoe manufacturers were dubbed "Adidas and the Seven Dwarfs." But by the early 1980s, while West Germany's Adidas remained No. 1 outside the U.S., fast-rising Nike dominated the American market. The company was started in 1972 by current chairman Philip Knight, 52, a University of Oregon graduate, and Bill Bowerman, 78, his former track coach, who used a waffle iron to make their first soles. (The now famous Swoosh trademark on the side of the shoes was designed by an art student for $35.) Nike's sales sprinted from $270 million in 1980 to $920 million in 1984. But the firm, named after the Greek goddess of victory, had trouble managing its explosive growth. Not long after the company tried to meet increased demand by assigning more production to Chinese factories in 1985, Nike's quality inspectors were rejecting four out of five of the Chinese-made shoes. Nike's push to satisfy the expanding mass market eroded its performance image.

As Nike faltered, Reebok galloped ahead. Beginning its life in the U.S. as a subsidiary of a British shoemaker founded in the 1890s, Reebok, based in Canton, Mass., is now a publicly held firm that

NIKE'S AIR FORCE STS
Basketball high-top, $95



REEBOK'S THE PUMP
Available this fall, $170

L.A. GEAR'S WORKOUT II
Silver Mylar with terry-cloth liner, $30.

PHOTOGRAPHS FOR TIME BY HENRY GROSKINSKY

owns its former parent company. Its mid-'80s success came from inventing and persistently exploiting the market for women's aerobic shoes, a shift in the business that Nike had completely missed. Reebok's revenues zoomed from $4 million in 1982 to $900 million by 1986.

This year Nike, which Knight has invigorated by decentralizing decision making and encouraging innovation, has gained a second wind with dozens of new models in 24 footwear categories. Nowadays any top contender in the industry must constantly upgrade its products (almost all of which are designed in the U.S. but made in Asia) just to stay in the race. Though industry analysts estimate that 80% of all sneakers are used for nothing more taxing than taking out the garbage, consumers want the illusion of having a competitive edge.

Shoe designers finely tune each category of shoe to its particular activity by studying human motion and physiology. Reebok's baseball shoes, for example, have a specially designed cleat pattern called SpeedSlot for fast starts and stops. Crafty Nike marketeers have also invented in-between products, most notably the cross-trainer shoe, designed for an all-around athlete. Cross-trainers offer enough lateral support for the sideways motions of aerobics and basketball but are light and flexible enough for jogging too.

On the cutting edge of shoe science, Nike and Reebok are engaged in a battle that is based on thin air. The Air Nike line of basketball shoes, which contain pockets of compressed gas in the soles to provide cushioning, became an instant hit two years ago when transparent plastic windows were added to show off the air cells. The most popular model is the Air Jordan (price: $110), named for Chicago Bulls superstar Michael Jordan, who receives an undisclosed royalty for each pair of shoes sold. This year Reebok is fighting back with its Energy Return System, found in its ERS Showtime model (price: $79). Its soles contain an arrangement of cylinders, made of a synthetic called Hytrel, which compress on impact and provide extra spring. Taking the next engineering leap, both Reebok and Nike have developed shoes with inflatable sides and collars for extra support.

Not every manufacturer is chasing the perfect technology. L.A. Gear has become a major contender by selling shoes mostly for show, not sport. Adorned with bright-neon trim, buckles and rhinestones and worn by svelte blonds in the company's TV commercials, L.A. Gear's shoes suggest sex and Southern California. One of the brand's top sellers is Street Brats ($60), with contrasting-color laces, marbleized leather and tongues that stick straight up. L.A. Gear was started in 1979 by Robert Greenberg, 49, a hairdresser turned entrepreneur who keeps his finger on the pulse of California shopping culture. Says he: "I'm a mallaholic. I need to go to a mall at least twice a week, or I get the shakes." Sales at L.A. Gear accelerated from $11 million in 1985 to $224 million in 1988 and are expected to more than double this year.

A shoemaker's fortunes rely heavily on advertising. Nike's theme, "Just Do It," which urges would-be customers to get off their couches and onto their exercise bicycles, has been widely praised. But Reebok's recent "Let U.B.U." ad campaign, which starred eccentric characters in surrealistic situations, was considered a bust. All the major manufacturers have hired celebrity pitchmen. Nike pays multitalented pro athlete Bo Jackson to sell its cross-trainer shoe, and Joan Benoit Samuelson to advertise its running line. L.A. Gear keeps retired Los Angeles Lakers star Kareem Abdul-Jabbar on its payroll; his former coach Pat Riley is under contract with Reebok.

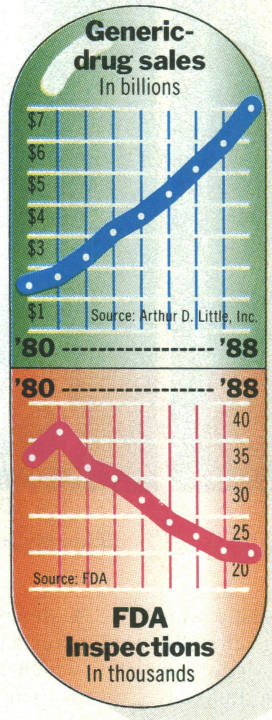
Having paid heavily to pump up their images, footwear-makers capitalize on their cachet by emblazoning their emblems on clothing. Nike, whose apparel sales reached $208 million in fiscal 1989, sells hundreds of garments ranging from lemon-colored cotton jerseys to hot-pink bicycle shorts. Next spring Nike will launch an Aqua Gear line for wind surfers and other hardy types.

Manufacturers are furiously bringing out new clothes and shoes, in part because they know that the industry's rapid growth is slowing down. Baby boomers, for example, are slacking off in their exercise regimens. While last year's 15% growth rate was healthy by any measure, it was down from 29% the previous year. As they pour money into R. and D., the shoemakers hope to come up with new products that weekend athletes can't resist. One new customer of note: Batman, whose movie shoes were based on Nike's cross-trainer. —***Reported by Robert Ajemian/Boston, Jonathan Beaty/Beaverton and Jane Van Tassel/New York***

A Prescription for Scandal

Payoffs and faked lab results taint the generic-drug industry

For many consumers, generic drugs have been a welcome remedy for sticker shock at the pharmacy counter. Designed to work as effectively as their brand-name counterparts, generics often sell for half the price. Since 1984, when Congress sought to make generics more readily available by speeding up the Government-approval process, competition has skyrocketed—and so has the opportunity for abuse. Now a yearlong investigation by the Justice Department and the Food and Drug Administration is uncovering evidence that some makers of generic pharmaceuticals falsified laboratory test results and paid off FDA chemists to gain quick Government approval for their products. While no drugs have been found so far to be harmful or ineffective, the fraud is shaking the reputation of the $7 billion generic-drug industry.



Hastening to restore confidence in its imprimatur, the FDA last week launched a crash program to re-evaluate 30 of the most commonly prescribed generic medications, including such prevalent antibiotics as ampicillin and oral penicillin. Over the next six weeks, the agency will test more than 1,000 samples to make sure they are biologically equivalent to their brand-name counterparts. In addition, the FDA, which had cut back its commercial inspections because of budget restraints, announced that it will hire more field inspectors and seek tougher punishments for unscrupulous manufacturers.

Compared with an original, patented drug, a generic is much less expensive to develop. After the patent on a brand-name product has expired, usually involving a period of 17 years, a pharmaceutical company simply replicates the original drug's components. But in a two-year study released earlier this month, the American Academy of Family Physicians found that many generics are not as potent as their originals. Reason: unless certain production tricks are used, it is often difficult to produce a formulation that will work as well in the body as the brand-name drug. In its approval process, the FDA relies on a generic-drug manufacturer's in-house lab tests to establish a product's effectiveness. But the temptation for the manufacturer to cut corners can be strong, since the first companies to gain approval are likely to carve out the largest market shares.

The current scandal started to unravel after Roy McKnight, head of Pittsburgh-based Mylan Laboratories, began to suspect the FDA of favoritism. Frustrated that a rival firm consistently won FDA approval for its products before his company did, McKnight hired private detectives to spy on the Government. The detectives' snooping produced enough evidence of corruption to encourage the Justice Department to initiate a probe. In July, Charles Chang, 47, former head of the FDA's generic-drug division, and two co-workers pleaded guilty to accepting a total of $24,300 in illegal gifts in exchange for preferential treatment. The favored firms: American Therapeutic Inc., Bohemia, N.Y.; Par Pharmaceutical, Spring Valley, N.Y.; and Par's subsidiary Quad Pharmaceuticals of Indianapolis. American Therapeutic has not been charged so far and denies any wrongdoing.

As the FDA pursued its own probe, it discovered that Vitarine Pharmaceuticals of New York City had taken a more drastic step to ensure approval of its generic version of Dyazide, a standard antihypertension drug developed by SmithKline. The generic-drug company substituted Dyazide for its own capsules and sailed right through the efficacy tests. Vitarine admitted the deception earlier this month and has recalled the product.

Even if the misdeeds are limited to a few unscrupulous firms and some greedy bureaucrats, the entire generic-drug industry is likely to suffer. Generic products are so anonymous, says Dee Fensterer, president of the Generic Pharmaceutical Industry Association, that "when one company has a problem with one drug, it is jumped on as a problem of all generic drugs." —*By Christine Gorman. Reported by Priscilla Painton/New York and Dick Thompson/Washington*

Fill 'Er Up With Gas Lite

Prodded by air-quality laws, Arco invents a cleaner fuel

If necessity is the mother of invention, the threat of regulation is often its father. Faced with growing government pressure for cleaner automotive fuel, Atlantic Richfield last week became the first U.S. oil company to introduce an unleaded gasoline designed to run effectively in older vehicles that were built to use leaded fuel. The Los Angeles–based company said the new brand, Emission Control-1, will eliminate up to 15% of the pollution caused by cars built before 1975 and trucks from before 1980. While such vehicles represent only 15% of the Los Angeles area's cars and trucks, they produce nearly one-third of its automotive air pollution. When EC-1 goes on sale next month at 700 Arco stations across Southern California, the company said, it will be priced the same as leaded fuel, though the new gas costs a few cents more a gallon to produce.

The arrival of the new gasoline was well timed. Hours after EC-1's debut, the California Air Resources Board unanimously approved a sweeping 20-year plan to clean up Southern California's atmosphere. President Bush put additional pressure on oil companies in June, when he unveiled an antipollution proposal that included a switch to cleaner automotive fuels, including natural gas and methanol, in smog-choked parts of the country.

JOHN T. BARR—GAMMA/LIAISON

Signs of change at the pump

Arco attributed its discovery to improved refinery techniques and advanced computer data bases that enabled chemists to experiment with formulas for the new gasoline. Besides containing no lead, the new Arco fuel has 50% less benzene, a major source of smog, and 80% less sulfur. "We could not have done this five years ago," a company spokesman contended. "You have to have a good data base."

While Atlantic Richfield has no immediate plans to market the new gasoline outside Southern California, other oil companies seem likely to develop their own lead-free products. The industry may have little choice if gasoline is to keep pace with U.S. demands for increasingly stringent air-quality standards. ■

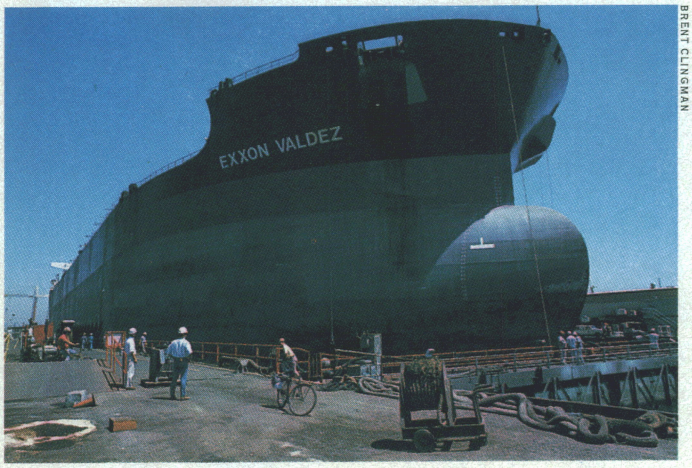
Business Notes

LITIGATION

A Lawsuit as Big as Alaska

When Exxon reckoned in July that it would spend nearly $1.3 billion to clean up its Alaskan oil spill, liability lawyers knew that was just the beginning. In Anchorage last week the state of Alaska filed a civil suit against the petroleum giant and the owners of the trans-Alaska pipeline, seeking unspecified damages that could total billions of dollars. Alaska charges the oil companies with deceiving the public about the safety of the shipping operation and with incompetence in the cleanup.

Alaska v. Exxon et al is likely to break some courtroom records. Robert LeResche, who heads the state's investigation of the spill, believes the legal wrangling will last at least a decade. "Out of the approximately 150 suits filed against Exxon, this is the big one," says Bryan Jacoboski, who follows the oil industry for Paine Webber. "It will keep Exxon's stock from going anywhere for a long time." ■



BRENT CLINGMAN

The ruptured oil tanker undergoing repairs in a San Diego dry dock

TERRY ASHE

Fed-flogging Richard Darman

INTEREST RATES

The Sniping May Backfire

While Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan is a loyal Republican, he has taken pains to avoid any appearance of partisanship. And for its part, the Bush Administration has refrained from publicly admonishing Greenspan over monetary policy. But that restraint evaporated last week when Budget Director Richard Darman, appearing on NBC's *Meet the Press,* accused the Federal Reserve Board of keeping interest rates too high because of an exaggerated concern about inflation. "If we do have a recession, I think it will be because they erred on the side of caution," said Darman.

Rather than disavow the Budget Director's comments, Bush told a news conference on Tuesday that "I can feel very comfortable with his sallying forth and saying that." While Darman's critique was not directed at Greenspan personally, former Federal Reserve Governor Lyle Gramley thinks the ploy may backfire. Said he: "The Fed cannot be seen as knuckling under to pressure from the Administration." ■

AIRLINES

Return of the Cheap Seats

When Continental Airlines set off a round of deep discounts on Aug. 1, rival carriers hoped the price cutting would end by autumn. But last week Trans World Airlines launched the fiercest fare war in more than two years by slashing its lowest rates on round-trip fall tickets. A typical reduction would cut the cheapest Chicago–San Francisco fare from $323 to $198. The heavily restricted discounts apply to tickets purchased by Sept. 1 for U.S. flights from Sept. 9 to Dec. 15. Other airlines quickly matched the cut-rate fares. Eastern, struggling to return to the air despite a long strike by machinists, said it would offer discounts with fewer restrictions beginning Sept. 7. ■

CREDIT CARDS

Now They'll Need Wallets

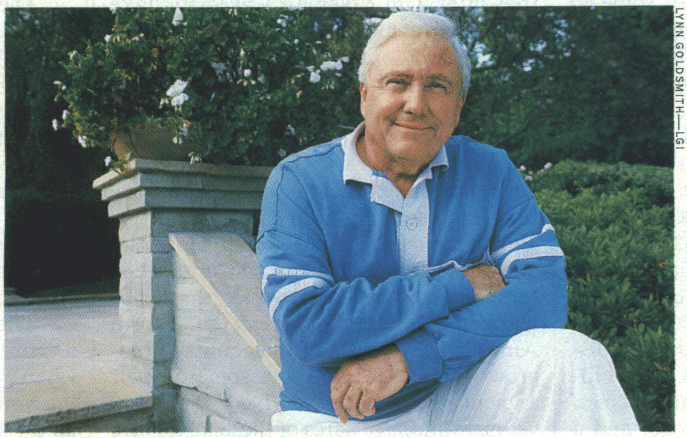
"Aw, man, my credit card's maxed out, and I really wanted that Nintendo game." Such plaints may soon come from the mouths of adolescents. Denver's Young Americans Bank, which caters to youths, will start issuing a kids-only MasterCard this week to patrons who are at least twelve years old and can persuade an adult to co-sign. Cardholders will pay a membership fee of $15 and an 18.8% finance charge on unpaid balances, but the Kidcard's $100 credit limit seems to rule out wild shopping sprees. "This way, they build their own credit history," says bank vice president Cindy Culkin. "If they don't make the payments, they've blown it by themselves." ■

CASINOS

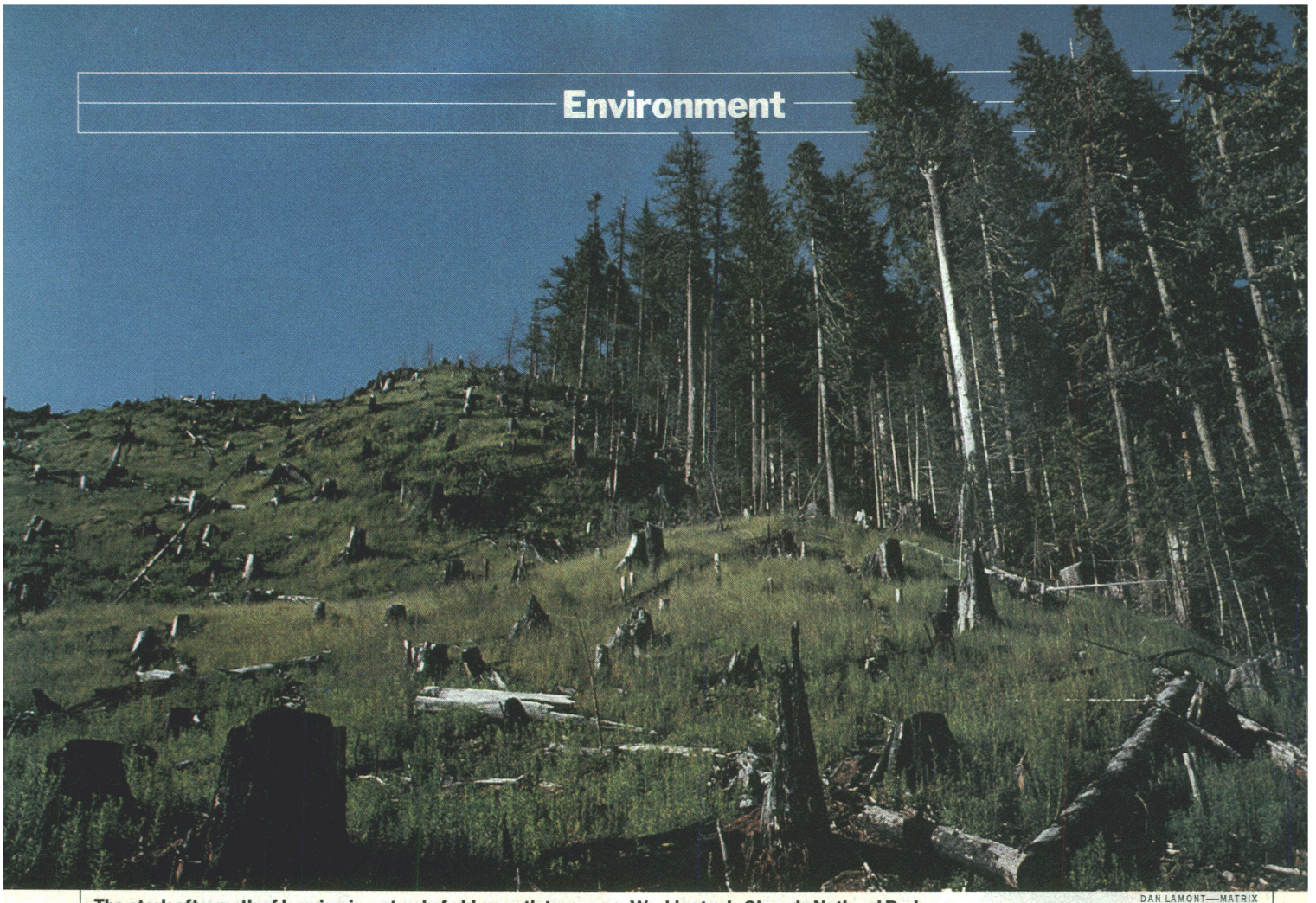
Who Really Won the Pot?

Entertainer Merv Griffin was hailed as a tough and savvy bargainer last year when he bested billionaire Donald Trump in a battle for control of Resorts International, which owns casino-hotels in Atlantic City and the Bahamas. But now Griffin's plunge into gambling is looking like a dubious bet. Last week Resorts reported a $46.6 million loss for the year's first half. To stay afloat, Resorts may have to reduce sharply the $925 million in debt that Griffin assumed when he acquired the company for about $365 million.

Resorts' aging hotels, which could cost more than $150 million to renovate, have steadily lost business to their glossier neighbors. The rivalry in Atlantic City will grow even more heated next year when Trump opens his $1 billion Taj Mahal hotel and casino, which is situated next door to Resorts' 61-year-old flagship. ■


LYNN GOLDSMITH—LGI

The takeover artist at ease in Beverly Hills before the debt squeeze



The stark aftermath of logging in a stand of old-growth trees near Washington's Olympic National Park

DAN LAMONT—MATRIX

Showdown in the Treetops

Conservation activists stage a high-altitude sit-in to save the ancient forests

© CHRISTO

Endangered Earth

The loggers who arrived for work one morning last week in Washington's Mount Baker–Snoqualmie National Forest were greeted by a strange and unexpected sight. Sitting amid the branches of three of the trees they had planned to cut that day, some 60 ft. up in the air, was a form of wildlife they had not previously encountered there: three members of the radical environmental group Earth First. They were perched precariously on narrow plywood platforms with enough food and water to last for at least a week. Dangling from the trees were two banners reading SAVE AMERICA'S FORESTS and FORESTS, NOT FRAGMENTS.

It was not an isolated incident. In New Mexico's Jemez Mountains, four other Earth Firsters climbed trees and chained themselves to machinery, disrupting logging operations on a steep hillside. In Northern California, members of the group blocked a logging road, and a brief brawl broke out between loggers and protesters. Earth Firsters also took to the trees in Oregon, Montana and Colorado. Two protesters in Washington's Colville National Forest who had clambered up into adjoining Douglas fir trees were surprised when the loggers they planned to confront never showed up. Their "occupation" was cut short after 48 hours, but tree-sitter Tim Coleman vowed to "take to the trees again if necessary."

The well-orchestrated protests were more a publicity gesture than a serious attempt to impede lumbering operations. Forest rangers and police largely ignored the climbers. But they did manage to focus renewed public attention on an issue that has been simmering for years: logging of the nation's "old-growth" forests.

These forests are the last untouched remnants of the great woods that once blanketed enormous areas of North America. Only 15% of the country's old-growth forests are left, but some of their ancient trees have survived for 1,000 years. Millions of acres of these forests are protected from logging because they are inaccessible or set aside as national parks or wildlife areas. The issue is how to manage the rest. Even by the U.S. Forest Service's estimate, the current cutting rate of 170 acres a day could wipe out unprotected virgin woodlands within just a few decades. Conservation groups say the end may be no further away than 15 years.

The Forest Service defends the logging on the ground that the timber industry is vital to the Western economy. But conservationists counter that too much of the ancient forest is already gone and the destruction should stop. Thus the forests have become the hottest battleground in a broader war between the forces of economic development and the armies of conservation being waged from the wetlands of the East Coast to the oil-stained shores of Alaska's Prince William Sound.

The current plight of the old-growth forests had its origins in the late 1940s, when a postwar housing boom resulted in the voracious cutting of trees on private lands. The logging industry was forced to turn to public lands, including those with

DAN LAMONT—MATRIX

A lumberjack attacks a Douglas fir in Olympic National Forest

JOE CEMPA

A California tree sitter protests the destruction of redwoods

Woods that have stood for 1,000 years might be gone in a generation, along with the wildlife species that inhabit them.

old-growth forests (prized because of the high quality and quantity of their timber). The National Forest Service and the Bureau of Land Management have cooperated, selling rights to new tracts of forest every year. This policy, combined with modern logging machinery that makes cutting on mountain slopes easier, has put vast stands of old-growth trees in the chain saw's path.

That path is often blocked by the Earth Firsters, whose guerrilla tactics have in the past alienated other environmentalists. Some members of the group have lain down in front of bulldozers, and others have been accused of acts of sabotage, such as driving long metal spikes into trees. As those trees are cut and processed, the hidden spikes can damage the machinery of a sawmill.

The confrontations over old-growth forests are fiercest in the Pacific Northwest, where logging is both a major industry and a historical source of identity and pride. Atop Oregon's state capitol in Salem is a gilded statue of an ax-wielding pioneer. But long before the lumberjacks came, the Northwest was home to some of the continent's most majestic trees, including cedar, Douglas fir, western hemlock and Sitka spruce, and 200 or more species of wildlife, from elk to pileated woodpeckers.

NELSON—THE REGISTER-GUARD

The northern spotted owl

Just one of those animals, the northern spotted owl, has given the conservationists a way to slow down the logging. Citing the bird's increasing rarity and the fact that it lives primarily in old-growth forests, activists have obtained court injunctions against logging on federally controlled lands inhabited by the owl. And the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, which estimates that only 4,500 spotted owls remain in Western old-growth woodlands, has agreed to decide by next summer whether the animal should be included on the list of threatened species. If that happens, provisions of the Endangered Species Act dictate that the owl's habitats must be protected.

Such a ruling could be a disaster for the logging industry. The temporary court injunctions have slashed the amount of timber available for harvesting in fiscal 1989 from 5.4 billion board feet to 2.4 billion, with most of the cutbacks affecting Oregon. That is a devastating blow to a state where the $7 billion-a-year wood-products industry provides a livelihood for 150,000 people. Directly or indirectly, logging accounts for nearly one-fifth of Oregon's gross product.

Understandably, the loggers feel persecuted by the environmentalists. Says Tom Hirons, owner of Mad Creek Timber: "The preservationists' campaign to lock up [the forests] is a brand of mental terrorism that has cast a great cloud of fear over our communities." At a rally this summer in Salem, loggers wore T shirts bearing the slogan SAVE A LOGGER. EAT AN OWL.

The Oregon loggers have some powerful allies, including most of the state's congressional delegation, led by Senator Mark Hatfield. Last month Hatfield and Governor Neil Goldschmidt convened a meeting of lumbermen, environmentalists and federal officials to try to forge a logging plan that would be fair to both sides. After acrimonious debate, Hatfield offered a compromise, to remain in force through fiscal year 1990. It would protect some forest areas but allow continued old-growth logging and forbid anyone to seek court injunctions to prohibit cutting.

The timber industry accepted the plan, but environmentalists rejected it, arguing that they would be giving up their legal rights to fight the logging companies. Nonetheless, Hatfield introduced the plan in Congress. It has already cleared the Senate and is awaiting consideration by a House-Senate conference committee. Notes Andy Kerr, conservation director of the Oregon Natural Resource Council: "The pressures on the politicians are tremendous. The Oregon delegation is having to deal with timber in 1989 the way the Mississippi delegation had to deal with civil rights in 1959."

But many Oregonians stand squarely in the conservation camp. Says George Atiyeh, a former logger who became an ardent environmentalist: "The forest is my church. No one has the right to defile it, anymore than I would have the right to desecrate anyone else's church. When you get down to the last of anything—whales, trees, whatever it is—then you don't have the right to exploit them anymore."

Some sort of compromise is inevitable. It would be unthinkable to shut down overnight the Northwest's logging industry. But as the area of old-growth forest land dwindles, it is increasingly indefensible to cut down trees that were centuries in the making. Tight limits on logging are necessary so that the Northwest will move faster to diversify its economy.

More is at stake in the logging battle than some spotted owls and old trees. "In wildness is the preservation of the world," wrote Henry David Thoreau in the 19th century. To many people, his words now ring truer than ever. —***By Michael D. Lemonick. Reported by Jordan Bonfante/Salem and David Seideman/Portland***

Alcohol's Youngest Victims

Drinking during pregnancy is riskier than many women realize

BY ANDREA DORFMAN

Everyone should know by now that drinking alcohol during pregnancy can cause serious physical and mental problems in the unborn child. Most doctors have told their patients, television announcements have dramatized the dangers, and warning signs have gone up in restaurants and bars. But too many mothers-to-be are not getting the message. More than 50,000 babies are born in the U.S. each year with alcohol-related defects. In about one-fourth of these cases, the damage—ranging from facial deformities to heart abnormalities—is severe enough to be classified as fetal alcohol syndrome.

Many people still do not realize how common FAS is and how devastating it can be. According to some researchers, FAS is responsible for an estimated 20% of all U.S. cases of mental retardation. That makes FAS the No. 1 threat to children's mental health, greater than either Down syndrome or spina bifida.

Unlike such drugs as barbiturates and opiates, which affect the nervous system, alcohol can attack virtually any of the body's cells. It can cause stunted growth, distorted faces, poor eyesight, learning disabilities and hyperactivity. In the recently published book *The Broken Cord* (Harper & Row; $18.95), author Michael Dorris tells the heartbreaking story of his adopted son Adam, whose Sioux parents died of alcohol abuse. Adam was institutionalized and diagnosed as retarded before he turned three. At five, he still wore diapers, could not count consecutively or even identify colors. "Adam's birthdays are reminders for me," writes Dorris. "For each celebration commemorating that he was born, there is the pang, the rage, that he was not born whole."

The tragedy of FAS is that it is entirely preventable. If a woman, even an alcoholic one, stops drinking before she tries to become pregnant, her fetus will not develop FAS or any alcohol-related birth defects. But pregnancies are not always planned. If a woman does not realize for several weeks that she is pregnant, she may not stop drinking in time to prevent harm to the fetus.

Researchers believe the damage is probably minimal in the first two weeks, but during the rest of the first trimester, when the fetus' organs are forming, the effects may be especially severe. If the drinking continues, additional damage can occur, since the brain develops during all nine months and rapid body growth does not occur until the third trimester. Even after the baby is born, abstinence may be advisable. A study in last week's *New England Journal of Medicine* suggests that when mothers have one or more drinks a day, their children ingest alcohol in breast milk, which may impede the infants' motor development.

Nearly all known cases of FAS involve children whose mothers have chronic alcohol problems. Says Barbara Morse, director of the Fetal Alcohol Education Program at the Boston University School of Medicine: "The more a woman drinks while she is pregnant and the longer she drinks, the higher the risk of FAS." Even so, moderate drinking is not considered safe. "Our best evidence is that we cannot detect adverse consequences to very light drinking," says Dr. Robert Sokol, head of the federally funded fetal alcohol research center at Wayne State University, in Detroit. "But that doesn't mean they don't exist." Beer, wine and hard liquor do not seem to differ in their impact on the fetus.

Studies conducted in Boston, Atlanta and Scandinavia indicate that at least some of the injuries to the fetus may be corrected in the womb if a mother gives up alcohol before her third trimester. Says Sterling Clarren, professor of pediatrics at the University of Washington School of Medicine: "It's pretty clear if a woman stops drinking in her second trimester, the size and the healthiness of the baby will improve, but there is no evidence that its intelligence will improve." Moreover, even the improvement in appearance may be deceptive. "The babies definitely are bigger and look healthier," says Dr. Sokol, "but that doesn't mean that all the effects go away."

Scientists still do not know why FAS strikes the children of some alcoholic mothers but not others, and why susceptibility varies among different ethnic groups. Native Americans, for example, are 33 times as likely as Caucasians to have a child with FAS; for blacks, the rate is 6.7 times as high as for Caucasians. Women who give birth to a child with FAS have a greater-than-average risk of bearing additional children with the affliction. Such evidence suggests there may be a genetic predisposition to FAS, but scientists have not been able to identify the offending genes.

Researchers are also trying to determine whether fathers' drinking habits play any role in FAS. At Wayne State, studies of male laboratory rodents have shown that alcohol exposure affects their sperm as well as the immune system and behavior of their offspring. "I don't think the possibility of the father's effect can be written off," says Dr. Sokol. "We're not saying the baby would have FAS, but it's possible there may be some impact on how the kid comes out."

There is no treatment for FAS, and so the only way health officials can fight the scourge is to step up educational efforts. In New Hampshire, for example, couples must read a pamphlet on FAS before they can obtain a marriage license. Beginning in November, liquor bottles will carry a cigarette-style warning label advising women that alcohol and pregnancy do not mix. But for women who are addicted to alcohol, the need to drink often overcomes caution and reason. Until better ways are found to identify and treat alcoholics, they will continue to inflict a devastating toll on their children. —*With reporting by Georgia Harbison/New York*

THE RAVAGES OF ALCOHOL

TIME Chart by Cynthia Davis

Paradise Under Siege

A new-age guru prepares for war in Montana

Back in Malibu it seemed like just another chanting, channeling new-age religion. But under the big skies of Montana, where Elizabeth Clare Prophet moved her Church Universal and Triumphant in 1986, the newcomers struck the locals as ominous. Starting out on a 12,000-acre ranch purchased five years earlier from publisher Malcolm Forbes for $7.7 million, the church rapidly expanded its holdings to 33,500 acres, attracted some 1,000 followers to the region, and launched extensive construction projects. Neighbors feared that the mushrooming community might damage the delicate ecological balance of Yellowstone National Park, which the ranch abuts.

MAYER—BILLINGS GAZETTE

A C.U.T. bomb shelter under construction in Montana

In case of attack, "we'll go into the etheric together."

Environmental concerns were overshadowed last month when Vernon Hamilton, a leader of C.U.T.'s Cosmic Honor Guard security force, was arrested in Spokane while driving a pickup truck carrying illegally obtained weapons. The find that day included seven large-caliber semiautomatic rifles, five assault rifles, $26,000 in cash and gold coins, and plans for the arming of 200 people.

Last week Prophet, 50, who is also known as Guru Ma, and her husband Ed Francis, 39, appeared before a grand jury investigating alleged church involvement in illegal arms gathering. Prophet denies any wrongdoing, but if evidence implicates the two, they will face possible jail sentences and the crumbling of their empire. Says Park County commissioner Larry Lovely: "I think their credibility is slipping, and it's time to get this out in the open."

Meanwhile back at the ranch, the usual operations have been neglected while Prophet and her followers gear up for surviving the Armageddon she predicted in 1987, when she received a message from what she calls her "ascended masters." This exalted band includes Jesus, Buddha and Guru Ma's former husband the late Mark L. Prophet, who three decades ago founded the religion on an amalgam of Christianity and Eastern faiths.

Guru Ma claims to be the channel through which these spirits speak to earthbound mortals. Despite their warning that the U.S. will suffer a nuclear attack in October this year, "America the Vulnerable," she grumbles, has not even "seen fit to have an ABM system in place."

Prophet took matters into her own hands by inviting all her faithful, who may number some 30,000 worldwide, to move to Montana and escape the coming doom. Followers have begun to converge on the region and lease homes in a church-owned subdivision. At the main headquarters, dubbed the "inner retreat," the group is constructing a system of tubular underground shelters for 756 people. The guns, according to former members, are meant to defend the 600 staffers against a Communist invasion. Former bodyguard Ken Paolini charges that members are being told, "If we come under attack, we'll all go into the etheric together."

MAYER—BILLINGS GAZETTE

Prophet

But even as she seeks to gather the flock around her, Guru Ma is having trouble keeping her own family intact. Daughter Moira Lewis, 21, has joined a growing phalanx of outspoken defectors and accuses her mother of pursuing an opulent lifestyle, dining on lobster and prime rib, while keeping her followers in a constant state of austerity as they prepare for World War III. —*By Michael P. Harris.*

Reported by Patrick Dawson/Livingston

Milestones

PARDONED. Armand Hammer, 91, art collector, chairman of Occidental Petroleum Corp. and longtime advocate of U.S.-Soviet trade; by President Bush; for making $54,000 in illegal contributions to Richard Nixon's 1972 presidential campaign; in Washington. In 1976 Hammer was fined $3,000 and placed on probation.

RECOVERING. Kate Jackson, 39, raspy-voiced gamine who starred in television hits *Charlie's Angels* and *Scarecrow and Mrs. King;* from breast-cancer surgery; in Los Angeles.

DIED. Larkin Smith, 45, first-term Republican member of the U.S. House of Representatives from Mississippi; in the crash of a Cessna; near New Augusta, Miss. Elected sheriff of Harrison County in 1984, Smith was credited with reforming the scandal-plagued office. He developed a law-and-order image with his attacks on drug trafficking along the Gulf Coast. Smith was a paradigm of the energetic young G.O.P. legislators who party strategists hope will win control of the South—and Congress—in the 1990s.

DIED. Amanda Blake, 60, who for 19 years played the tough but good-hearted saloon proprietor Miss Kitty on TV's *Gunsmoke;* of cancer; in Sacramento. After surgery for mouth cancer in 1977, Blake, a one-time two-pack-a-day smoker, became an anticigarette crusader.

DIED. Robert Anderson, 79, Texas lawyer and oilman who served as Dwight Eisenhower's Navy Secretary from 1953 to 1954 and Treasury Secretary from 1957 to 1961; in New York City. Ike urged Anderson to be his running mate in 1956 and to try for the G.O.P. presidential nomination in 1960. Citing his political inexperience, Anderson refused both times. His life turned upside down in the 1980s, when he pleaded guilty to charges of tax evasion and operating an illegal offshore bank in the West Indies. He served one month in prison.

DIED. William Shockley, 79, physicist who shared the Nobel Prize in 1956 for his part in inventing the transistor, the device that made modern electronics possible; in Palo Alto, Calif. In the mid-1960s he ventured controversially into racist genetic theory, arguing that whites in general are superior in intelligence to blacks and proposing that people with low IQs or genetically transmitted diseases be paid to be sterilized.

Government Bans Most Baldness Treatments

WASHINGTON, July 7 —— The Food and Drug Administration said today that it was banning the sale of nonprescription creams and lotions whose manufacturers assert would grow hair or prevent baldness. The agency said the products had not proved effective.

The agency said in The Federal Register that the ban applied to products available without a prescription that are used externally. These products are usually sold [illegible] barbers.

The Food and Drug Administration also said there was no evidence that vitamins, food supplements or other products taken orally would retard baldness or grow hair. The agency said it would remove these products from the market if their distributors continue to make such claims.

Prescription Drug A

The only [illegible]

pany and sold under the name Rogaine.

The F.D.A. ban is based on a recommendation of an advisory panel that evaluated a number of ingredients, including lanolin, olive oil, wheat germ oil and vitamins. The panel found none of these prevented baldness or promoted hair growth.

NEW YORK TIMES

The good news is there's one product that's proven to grow hair...

Rogaine®

TOPICAL SOLUTION minoxidil 2%

Rogaine is the *only* product that's ever been proven to grow hair. *Rogaine* is made by The Upjohn Company and its active ingredient is minoxidil. *Rogaine* has been available by a doctor's prescription since September of 1988 for male pattern baldness of the crown.

The one and only, according to the Food and Drug Administration (FDA).

You may have read in the news lately about other products that claim to grow hair or prevent hair loss.

A recent ruling by the FDA recognized that only *Rogaine* has been proven to be effective and safe for hair growth. Further, the FDA stated that the ingredients in all other products that say they grow hair or prevent hair loss are "ineffective." It recommended that "these products be eliminated from the...market."

Rogaine grows hair for a good percentage of men.

Your doctor will help you determine how good a candidate you are for treatment with *Rogaine*. Each individual responds differently.

In medical tests conducted by doctors on men throughout the United States over a twelve-month period, it was proven that *Rogaine* grew hair: 39% had moderate to dense regrowth, 37% had minimal regrowth, 13% grew soft, downy, colorless hair that was barely visible, and 11% had no regrowth. (In these same medical tests, the men using *Rogaine* evaluated their moderate to dense regrowth at an even higher rate, 48%).

Few of the men in the tests reported side effects. The most common side effect of *Rogaine* was itching of the scalp, which occurred in 5% of the men.

Generally, it takes four months of use before there is evidence of regrowth.

Nearly two million men have started using *Rogaine*. Should you?

More and more doctors are confidently prescribing *Rogaine* for more and more men every day.

If the FDA ruling hasn't convinced you to try it, consider this fact: two million men have tried it already.

It just might work for you.

So call your doctor for an appointment. Or, for more information, a list of doctors near you, and a certificate worth $10 as an incentive to visit your doctor (sorry, this offer is available for men only), call the toll free number below.

1-800-253-7300, ext. 201.

For a summary of product information, see adjoining page.

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Upjohn
The Upjohn Company

The only product ever proven to grow hair.

Rogaine®
TOPICAL SOLUTION minoxidil 2%

ROGAINE Topical Solution
(minoxidil 2%)

What is ROGAINE?

ROGAINE Topical Solution, discovered and made by The Upjohn Company, is a standardized topical (for use only on the skin) prescription medication proved effective for the long-term treatment of male pattern baldness of the crown.

ROGAINE is the only topical solution of minoxidil. Minoxidil in tablet form has been used since 1980 to lower blood pressure. The use of *minoxidil tablets* is limited to treatment of patients with severe high blood pressure. When a high enough dosage in tablet form is used to lower blood pressure, certain effects that merit your attention may occur. These effects appear to be dose related.

Persons who use ROGAINE Topical Solution have a low level of absorption of minoxidil, much lower than that of persons being treated with *minoxidil tablets* for high blood pressure. Therefore, the likelihood that a person using ROGAINE Topical Solution will develop the effects associated with *minoxidil tablets* is very small. In fact, none of these effects has been directly attributed to ROGAINE in clinical studies.

How soon can I expect results from using ROGAINE?

Studies have shown that the response to treatment with ROGAINE may vary widely.

Some men receiving ROGAINE may see faster results than others; others may respond with a slower rate of hair growth. You should not expect visible growth in less than four months.

If I respond to ROGAINE, what will the hair look like?

If you have very little hair and respond to treatment, your first hair growth may be soft, downy, colorless hair that is barely visible. After further treatment the new hair should be the same color and thickness as the other hair on your scalp. If you start with substantial hair, the new hair should be of the same color and thickness as the rest of your hair.

How long do I need to use ROGAINE?

ROGAINE is a treatment, not a cure. If you respond to treatment, you will need to continue using ROGAINE to maintain or increase hair growth. If you do not begin to show a response to treatment with ROGAINE after a reasonable period of time (at least four months or more), your doctor may advise you to discontinue using ROGAINE.

What happens if I stop using ROGAINE? Will I keep the new hair?

If you stop using ROGAINE, you will probably shed the new hair within a few months after stopping treatment.

What is the dosage of ROGAINE?

You should apply a 1 mL dose of ROGAINE two times a day, once in the morning and once at night, before bedtime. Each bottle should last about 30 days (one month). The applicators in each package of ROGAINE are designed to apply the correct amount of ROGAINE with each application. *Please refer to the Instructions for Use.*

What if I miss a dose or forget to use ROGAINE?

If you miss one or two daily applications of ROGAINE, you should restart your twice-daily application and return to your usual schedule. You should not attempt to make up for missed applications.

Can I use ROGAINE more than twice a day? Will it work faster?

No. Studies by The Upjohn Company have been carefully conducted to determine the correct amount of ROGAINE to use to obtain the most satisfactory results. More frequent applications or use of larger doses (more than one mL twice a day) have not been shown to speed up the process of hair growth and may increase the possibility of side effects.

What are the most common side effects reported in clinical studies with ROGAINE?

Studies of patients using ROGAINE have shown that the most common adverse effects directly attributable to ROGAINE Topical Solution were itching and other skin irritations of the treated area of the scalp. About 5% of patients had these complaints.

Other side effects, including light-headedness, dizziness, and headaches were reported by patients using ROGAINE or placebo (a similar solution without the active medication).

What are some of the side effects people have reported?

The frequency of side effects listed below was similar, except for dermatologic reactions, in the ROGAINE and placebo groups. *Respiratory* (bronchitis, upper respiratory infection, sinusitis); *Dermatologic* (irritant or allergic contact dermatitis, eczema, hypertrichosis, local erythema, pruritus, dry skin/scalp flaking, exacerbation of hair loss, alopecia); *Gastrointestinal* (diarrhea, nausea, vomiting); *Neurology* (headache, dizziness, faintness, light-headedness); *Musculoskeletal* (fractures, back pain, tendinitis); *Cardiovascular* (edema, chest pain, blood pressure increases/decreases, palpitation, pulse rate increases/decreases); *Allergy* (nonspecific allergic reactions, hives, allergic rhinitis, facial swelling and sensitivity); *Special Senses* (conjunctivitis, ear infections, vertigo, visual disturbances, including decreased visual acuity); *Metabolic-Nutritional* (edema, weight gain); *Urinary Tract* (urinary tract infections, renal calculi, urethritis); *Genital Tract* (prostatitis, epididymitis, sexual dysfunction); *Psychiatric* (anxiety, depression, fatigue); *Hematology* (lymphadenopathy, thrombocytopenia); *Endocrine.*

Individuals who are hypersensitive to minoxidil, propylene glycol, or ethanol must not use ROGAINE.

ROGAINE Topical Solution contains alcohol, which could cause burning or irritation of the eyes, mucous membranes, or sensitive skin areas. If ROGAINE accidentally gets into these areas, bathe the area with large amounts of cool tap water. Contact your doctor if irritation persists.

What are the possible side effects that could affect the heart and circulation when using ROGAINE?

Although serious side effects have not been attributed to ROGAINE in clinical studies, there is a possibility that they could occur because the active ingredient in ROGAINE Topical Solution is the same as in *minoxidil tablets.*

Minoxidil tablets are used to treat high blood pressure. *Minoxidil tablets* lower blood pressure by relaxing the arteries, an effect called vasodilation. Vasodilation leads to retention of fluid and increased heart rate. The following effects have occurred in some patients taking *minoxidil tablets* for high blood pressure:

Increased heart rate. Some patients have reported that their resting heart rate increased by more than 20 beats per minute; Rapid weight gain of more than 5 pounds or swelling (edema) of the face, hands, ankles, or stomach area; Difficulty in breathing, especially when lying down, a result of an increase in body fluids or fluid around the heart; Worsening of, or new onset of, angina pectoris.

When ROGAINE Topical Solution is used on normal skin, very little minoxidil is absorbed and the possible effects attributed to *minoxidil tablets* are not expected with the use of ROGAINE. If, however, you experience any of the possible side effects listed, discontinue use of ROGAINE and consult your doctor. Presumably, such effects would be most likely if greater absorption occurred, e.g., because ROGAINE was used on damaged or inflamed skin or in greater than recommended amounts.

In animal studies, minoxidil, in doses higher than would be obtained from topical use in people, has caused important heart structure damage. This kind of damage has not been seen in humans given *minoxidil tablets* for high blood pressure at effective doses.

What factors may increase the risk of serious side effects with ROGAINE?

Individuals with known or suspected underlying coronary artery disease or the presence of or predisposition to heart failure would be at particular risk if systemic effects (that is, increased heart rate or fluid retention) of minoxidil were to occur. Physicians, and patients with these kinds of underlying diseases, should be conscious of the potential risk of treatment if they choose to use ROGAINE.

ROGAINE should be applied only to the scalp and should not be used on other parts of the body, because absorption of minoxidil may be increased and the risk of side effects may become greater. You should not use ROGAINE if your scalp becomes irritated or is sunburned, and you should not use it along with other topical treatment medication on your scalp.

Can men with high blood pressure use ROGAINE?

Individuals with hypertension, including those under treatment with antihypertensive agents, can use ROGAINE but should be monitored closely by their doctor. Patients taking guanethidine for high blood pressure should not use ROGAINE.

Should any precautions be followed?

Individuals using ROGAINE should be monitored by their physician one month after starting ROGAINE and at least every six months afterward. Discontinue ROGAINE if systemic effects occur.

Do not use it in conjunction with other topical agents such as corticosteroids, retinoids and petrolatum or agents that enhance percutaneous absorption. ROGAINE is for topical use only. Each mL contains 20 mg minoxidil and accidental ingestion could cause adverse systemic effects.

No carcinogenicity was found with topical application. ROGAINE should not be used by pregnant women or by nursing mothers. The effects on labor and delivery are not known. Pediatric use: Safety and effectiveness has not been established under age 18.

Caution: Federal law prohibits dispensing without a prescription. You must see a doctor to receive a prescription.

Upjohn
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Law

DNA on Trial

Mixed results for genetic tests

The strange tale made banner headlines and gripping TV in 1985. Filled with remorse, Cathleen Crowell Webb publicly declared that Gary Dotson was not the rapist her testimony sent to prison in 1979. In fact, she said, there was no rape; she made up the whole story out of fear that she might be pregnant by her boyfriend. The best Dotson could obtain from that admission was a commutation of the remainder of his 25-to-50-year sentence. Last week, however, his name was finally cleared as Illinois prosecutors dropped all charges against him after a state judge ordered a new trial. The reason: results of DNA identification tests indicated that Dotson could not have been the man who had sex with Webb.

But in another case decided last week, a New York State judge raised some doubts about the courtroom use of DNA technology. Forensic DNA tests seek to compare the genetic patterns of a suspect or victim with those of the human remains, such as blood or semen, left at the scene of a crime. Proponents of DNA identification have long insisted that the tests are so precise that they can establish matches or exclusions to a near certainty.

ELIAS—AP

Gary Dotson

In a precedent-setting ruling, New York Judge Gerald Sheindlin questioned the reliability of certain procedures employed by Lifecodes Corp., one of the nation's leading DNA-testing firms. Sheindlin agreed that DNA techniques "are generally accepted in the scientific community and can produce reliable results." But he ruled that in the murder case of Bronx janitor Joseph Castro, Lifecodes "failed in several major respects to use the generally accepted scientific techniques and experiments for obtaining reliable results."

Specifically, the decision means that the tainted tests may not be introduced to show that a bloodstain found on Castro's watch came from the victim, though other acceptable DNA tests by Lifecodes may be used to show that the blood does not belong to Castro. Beyond this immediate case, the ruling is expected to embolden many of the hundreds of defendants fingered by DNA tests around the country to challenge the procedures used to identify them. ■

SCHAPIRO—GAMMA/LIAISON

But nooo!: Chiklis, left, with Gary Groomes as fellow Blues Brother Dan Aykroyd

Saturday Night Dead

WIRED *Directed by Larry Peerce; Screenplay by Earl Mac Rauch*

BY RICHARD CORLISS

Well, they sure could have called it *Weird.* After all, the main characters in this bonkers biopic are two people John Belushi never met during his brief, explosive life: Bob Woodward, the actor's biographer, and John Belushi dead. You have to cherish the daredevil idiocy of a movie whose climax is a parody of Woodward's legendary deathbed chat with CIA director William Casey. The journalist visits the hotel room where Belushi took his fatal overdose and hallucinates an interview with the dying star. "Breathe for me, Woodward!" the samurai comic cries. And it's hard to hate a docudrama in which Cathy Smith, Belushi's last drug source, materializes in the straight-arrow reporter's fantasy and asks, "How 'bout you, Woody? You want a hit?"

If Woodward does want a hit, he is unlikely to get one from this turkey, overstuffed as it is with mad ambitions and bad karma. *Wired* wants to turn the story of the *Saturday Night Live* comedian and gonzo movie star into a cautionary fable about celebrity in the fast lane—and never mind that some powerful people in the movie business were not eager to see the picture made or released. Reprising Belushi's career without being able to use clips or skits from his most famous work should be challenge enough. But nooo! *Wired* insists on merging the complex flashback devices of two favorite old movies. So on one swerving narrative track, Woodward (J.T. Walsh), like the reporter in *Citizen Kane,* gets dirty dish from the star's friends. On the other, an angel of death (Ray Sharkey), a hipster version of the guardian angel in *It's a Wonderful Life,* escorts the dead Belushi (Michael Chiklis) to the scenes of his ebullient crimes.

Woodward's best seller, though it traced Belushi's last days with a doggedness that would have done the Evangelists proud, was a turgid read that had little feeling for its subject and found no broad meaning in it. At least adapter Earl Mac Rauch *(The Adventures of Buckaroo Banzai)* knows that the only way to pin Belushi and Hollywood is to wax satiric and surrealistic. When the dead Belushi prowls his old haunts in a morgue sheet that looks like a toga out of the *Animal House* closet, the film almost has style to match its guts. So does Chiklis' boldly percussive performance. But *Wired's* take on Belushi is so lame and gross that it validates the verdict of a cop in the movie: "He's just another fat junkie who went belly-up."

Was he? Not exactly, though the distinction eludes *Wired.* Professionally, Belushi was a gifted TV sketch artist who found the wide-screen format confining. Personally, he was a middle-class white kid with an anarchic urge to play the cool black jazzman—so he partied and bullied and ODed just like his heroes. Early death was only the last piece of the legend this blues brother created for himself. In the film's one good laugh, a physician elicits Belushi's pharmaceutical history and then asks, deadpan, "Next of kin?" Belushi was delivered to his humongous family of fans, who mourned a talent that went up in free-basing flames. But where do you send a killer-B movie like *Wired,* with many enemies and no mourners? ■

Came the Don

COOKIE *Directed by Susan Seidelman; Screenplay by Nora Ephron and Alice Arlen*

We gather to praise the forgettable comedy. Some movies can be faulted for nothing but low ambition. They aim not for the Academy Award. They disdain the zillion-dollar gross. Not for them a double-domed debate on the op-ed page. But some sweltering August evening, they afford easy wit, engaging performances and, for moviegoers, the satisfaction of 90 minutes well wasted.

Such a one is the film under consideration—a Mafia comedy. Already the mind contracts with diminished expectations! Non-Italian actors gesturing rambunctiously, speaking with cotton candy in their mouths, plotting elaborate revenge with dim-bulbed resources. Cast Peter Falk as Dino Capisco, a dapper don just sprung from Sing Sing. Give him a score to settle with his weaselly partner Carmine Tarantino (Michael V. Gazzo) and a slick, Rudolph Giuliani–style D.A. (Bob Gunton) with an eye to nailing Dino's hide on the front page. Saddle him with a dog-stealing wife (Brenda Vaccaro) and a devoted but ditsy mistress (Dianne Wiest). And do make sure his life finally depends on the skeptical love and untested intelligence of his daughter Carmela Maria Angelina Theresa Voltecki, a.k.a. Cookie (Emily Lloyd).

Lloyd, the English teenager who won prizes for her role in *Wish You Were Here,* imports a fetching presence and an acute mimicry to her Brooklyn punkster. The rest of the cast has fun playing in a farce summer-stocked with plot twists and cunning character studies. A perfect forgettable comedy—now what was its name? Ah, yes. Tasty, brittle, sweet, of no nutritional value . . . *Cookie.* —**R.C.**

Like daughter (Lloyd), like dad (Falk)

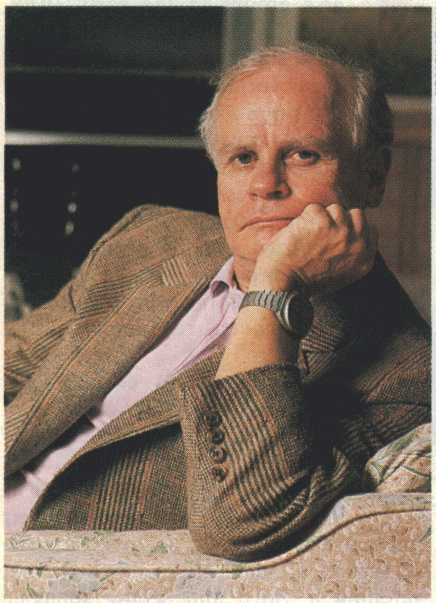
The pleasure of 90 minutes well wasted.

Hard-Boiled but Semi-Tough

HARP *by John Gregory Dunne; Simon & Schuster; 235 pages; $18.95*

BY R.Z. SHEPPARD

Confession is a religious ritual and a literary device, a point that John Gregory Dunne has illustrated a number of times during his career as a journalist and novelist. For example, *Vegas* (1974) was an unflattering, candid account of a bad time in the author's life, an on-the-road book that played personal problems against the city that passes for Sodom, U.S.A.



JAMES KEYSER

Dunne: lifting the heart of an Irish caroler

The dirty secret of class consciousness.

In a field that includes his wife Joan Didion, Dunne has held his own as an observer of public and private wastelands. But he has found a more authentic voice in fiction *(True Confessions; Dutch Shea, Jr.; The Red White and Blue)*. His characters are barbed, cynical and funny. Their attitudes and remarks reveal gifts for malice, resentment and mordant sentimentality, which Dunne associates with his immigrant heritage. As he writes in *Harp*, a memoir that takes its title from the slang for a son or daughter of the Old Sod, "Nothing lifts the heart of the Irish caroler more than the small vice, the tiny lapse, the exposed vanity, the recherché taste."

Outside the ventriloquism of fiction, Dunne, 57, sounds like a Harp from one of his own novels. Yet he seems to have had some trouble getting comfortable with his natural delivery. The problem lies in the dirty secret of class consciousness. "It took me nearly a quarter of a century to realize that here was the tension that gave me a subject," he notes, after admitting that while growing up Irish Catholic in West Hartford, Conn., he yearned to be an Episcopalian and a member of Wasp society.

It wasn't that Dunne lacked status. His grandfather was a successful grocer who built himself up to community pillar, and his father was a respected surgeon. Dunne went to Princeton and perfected talking through his nose, the better to honk down the lower orders. But once a Harp always a Harp, a lesson driven home by another old institution, the U.S. Army. German whores, barracks mates with tattoos, the general cynicism toward military routine, all validated his own outlook. Truth be told—and Dunne tells it—he is fascinated by life on the wild side.

Much of the author's experience is the vicarious quest for material and a hard-boiled persona. He becomes knowledgeable about firearms by reading about them; he familiarizes himself with the latest in sex toys by researching them at a Frankfurt porno shop. But his education in cardiology is firsthand. "In the seventh year of the Reagan kakistocracy, the medical dyes shooting through my arterial freeways were forced to make a detour around a major obstruction," he writes with calculated self-mockery.

This brush with mortality in middle age provides *Harp* with a certain amount of momentum. The deaths of family members lead to a search for his ancestral roots in Ireland and an application for an Irish passport. His motives are mixed: "The fact is I wanted an Irish passport for the simple reason that I was eligible for one. Trying to get one would both add structure to my journey and force me into that examination of my Irish background that I had always so rigorously rejected."

Dunne is not naturally introspective, which may be bad news for the self-help set but is good news for readers who like stylish structure and snappy prose, to say nothing of snappishness. Dunne takes particular pleasure in knocking a great American unknockable from his home town. Katharine Hepburn, he harps, "has always seemed to me all cheekbones and opinions, and none of the opinions has ever struck me as terribly original or terribly interesting, dependent as they are on a rather parochial Hartford definition of quality, as reinterpreted by five decades' worth of Studio unit publicists." Writing well, or at least trying to, is the best revenge. ■

GUERRIN—GAMMA/LIAISON

Tim and Nina Zagat doing their favorite job

Palate Polls

An empire of eatery reviews

The idea was born—and why not?—at the regular monthly dinner of a batch of New York City foodies. Someone complained about how hard it was, despite all the magazine and newspaper reviews, to find a really good restaurant. Eugene ("Tim") Zagat, a lawyer for Gulf & Western, had a bright idea: Why not survey the group's eaterygoing friends and circulate a newsletter listing their favorites? In a moment of Bordeaux-induced bravado, Zagat volunteered to organize the project.

Talk about small acorns and mighty oaks. Requests for Zagat's photocopied survey soon grew to the point that his wife Nina, also an attorney, suggested that they start selling the guide to cover expenses. Now, a decade after that fateful dinner, Tim Zagat is no longer a practicing lawyer but the mogul of an ever growing mini-empire of restaurant and hotel reviews across the U.S. For New York City gourmets, the appearance of Zagat's annual survey of local restaurants has become an event anticipated much the way their Parisian peers await each new *Guide Michelin*. Zagat has extended his restaurant guides to ten other U.S. metropolitan areas (including Chicago, Los Angeles and New Orleans) and a two-volume hotel survey covering the Eastern and Western states. Atlanta, St. Louis, Kansas City and the Pacific Northwest will soon have their own Zagats, identical in format (4 in. by 8½ in., with burgundy covers) and price ($9.95).

So will London, as Zagat goes international starting next year.

What makes the guides unique is that they represent gastronomical democracy in action. The surveys are based on questionnaires filled in by frequent restaurant-goers, who include the likes of author-editor Michael Korda and TV chef Julia Child. They rate eateries on food quality, décor and service on a 0-to-30 scale, note the average price of a meal (including one drink and a tip) and offer a succinct judgment on the restaurant. The results, compiled by computer, are boiled down by Zagat and a team of editors into capsule ratings that can sting as well as sing. In the current New York guide, for example, Elaine's, a snobby literary and show-biz hangout, gets bottom-drawer ratings of 9 in all three categories and such scathing reviewer comments as "I'd rather starve" and "check your self-esteem at the door."

Professional critics have mixed feelings about the guides. "I use it constantly," says Gael Greene, *New York* magazine's food maven. "When friends ask me for a suggestion about where to go, I use it to remind me of what I love." But Greene, like critic Elaine Tait of the Philadelphia *Inquirer,* also cautions that the Zagat ratings represent a "popularity poll," not an expert's informed judgment. "It's easy to be brave when your name's not on an opinion," says Tait.

Zagat counters that several palates are better than one and that his reviewers hardly lack for experience, since they eat out on average 3.5 times a week. Burly and gregarious, Zagat does better than that: about five times weekly, plus table-hopping jags, in which he eyeballs 20 or so establishments just to check out odors, ambience and customer enthusiasm.

Close readers of the New York surveys observe that they invariably list Vinnie's Pizza, a nondescript takeout joint near the Zagats' Upper West Side apartment. But Zagat denies the guides reflect a personal taste, noting that his reviewers rate one posh Manhattan bistro higher than he does. "I've never liked La Côte Basque," Zagat says, "but there are 500 of them and only two of us."

A lot more than 500, as it happens. By contributing to the 1989 New York City survey, about 3,500 serious eaters got free copies of the guide, as well as anonymous ego trips. That guide sold in excess of 200,000 copies and was bought in bulk by some 300 corporations to hand out to favored customers. Over the years, the surveys have earned "several millions," admits Zagat, whose possible future projects include a theater survey, a restaurant guide for kids, a telephone-access national data bank of restaurant information. And what about, um, Paris? "We may do other places," he says, "but the no word is for France." Breathe easy, Michelin, at least your home turf is safe. ***—By John Elson. Reported by Janice Simpson/New York***

Abortions Without Doctors

With Roe v. Wade *under fire, feminists propose a radical step*

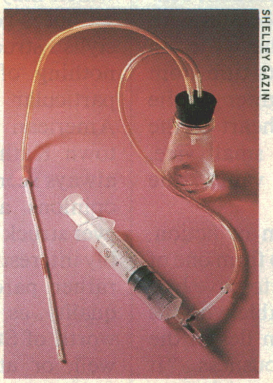
The Supreme Court decision to throw the abortion issue back to the states has thrown pro-choice supporters into turmoil. If, as many fear, abortion becomes tightly restricted or banned, what are women to do about unwanted pregnancies? Some feminists are proposing a radical remedy: women should master abortion techniques and perform the procedure for one another.

SHELLY KATZ

Learning about the self-help technique in Dallas

Is watching a video enough training to ensure safety?

That idea is being widely discussed by women's groups and has already drawn sharp criticism not only from right-tolifers but from medical authorities and some pro-choice supporters. Promoters of self-help abortions are looking at several methods, including RU 486, the controversial French pill not yet available in the U.S. But most of the attention is focusing on menstrual extraction, a technique that can be used to end a pregnancy through the eighth week. At a recent meeting in Dallas, sponsored by the local unit of the National Organization for Women, more than 100 women saw a 30-minute videotape that showed how the procedure is performed with a $90 kit containing a glass jar, plastic tubing and a special syringe. "We're being realistic," says Charlotte Taft, an abortion-clinic director who spoke at the meeting. "When abortion becomes illegal, not many physicians will risk losing their licenses. If I have a choice between going to a group of caring women I trust or a stranger, then I'll take the women."



SHELLEY GAZIN

The $90 extraction kit

Advocates think the lessons will keep women from seeking back-alley butchers or resorting to the horrifying home measures, such as inserting coat hangers and douching with Lysol or Coca-Cola, that were common before *Roe v. Wade* made abortion legal nationwide in 1973. NOW's national headquarters in Washington takes no position on self-help abortions but has not discouraged its local affiliates.

First championed by women's groups in the early 1970s, when abortion was illegal in most states, menstrual extraction is a variation of the vacuum aspirations used in medical clinics. A thin plastic tube is first inserted through the cervix into the uterus. Then the uterine lining, along with an embedded fertilized egg, is suctioned out by pumping a syringe attached to the tubing. Proponents of the procedure insist that it is safe.

But medical experts are skeptical. Warns Dr. E. Hakim Elahi, medical director of Planned Parenthood: "It's a wrong notion that abortion is very easy." He and others fear that cursory instruction will lead to medical complications. "There's no way that watching a video and seeing someone demonstrate this is going to make self-help procedures safe," declares gynecologist Michael Burnhill of the Robert Wood Johnson Medical School in New Brunswick, N.J. Possible dangers: missing the tiny fertilized egg, lacerating the cervix, perforating the uterus, and spreading bacterial infection.

Many feminists call the effort politically misguided. They argue that it gives the wrong impression that abortion is already illegal and unobtainable. They are also concerned that it diverts attention from their battle to keep abortion legal. Whether that battle is won or lost, the pursuit of self-help abortions makes one thing clear, warns Patricia Ireland of NOW: "The demand for abortion will continue and will be met one way or another."

—By Anastasia Toufexis. Reported by Georgia Harbison/New York and Joseph J. Kane/Atlanta

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The Ivory Tower Triggerman

In a new book, B.U.'s president takes aim at U.S. education

BY SAM ALLIS

Few people are neutral about John Silber. After 18 stormy years as president of Boston University, Silber, 63, continues to delight admirers and enrage critics with his outspoken conservative views and hard-nosed leadership style. George Washington University president Stephen Trachtenberg, who worked under Silber at B.U., calls him "one of the most distinctive and seminal voices in American higher education today." Freda Rebelsky Camp, head of the B.U. chapter of the American Association of University Professors, says he runs a "sleazy, fascist regime" and dismisses his acknowledged intelligence as irrelevant: "First-rate minds can be lunatics, like Ezra Pound. It doesn't mean he should run a university."

Love him or hate him, John Silber is impossible to ignore. The spotlight of controversy seems to seek him out. Earlier this year he was in the headlines with an audacious fund-raising plan to take out life-insurance policies on students and alumni. In May, Silber scored a double coup over neighboring Harvard by playing host to Presidents George Bush and François Mitterrand of France at B.U.'s graduation exercises. Next month Silber's precedent-setting experiment at running the troubled public schools of Chelsea, Mass., gets under way in the glare of national publicity. And in a forthcoming book called *Straight Shooting* (Harper & Row; $22.50), Silber takes some potshots at the shortcomings of the nation's educational system.

In Silber's view that system is in an appalling state. "The standards today are derisory by standards that were operative in ordinary little country schools a hundred years ago," he writes. A believer in meritocracy based on struggle, Silber decries what he sees as a pernicious confusion between equality of opportunity and equal ability. "Not a single member of our founding fathers believed any such rubbish," he says. "It is perfectly obvious that all individuals are not born with equal ability. I wish I could run as fast as Carl Lewis. I can't."

The U.S. teaching profession gets generally low marks in Silber's book. He lambastes U.S. schools of education as an "unintentional conspiracy to defraud the American public because they are certifying the ineducable to be educators." To draw a better pool of prospective teachers, he suggests scrapping the current time-consuming four-year certification program in favor of rigorous qualification tests and one semester of pedagogy and practice teaching. In another controversial view, he believes that high school teachers should score an A on a freshman-level college exam in their subject before being allowed to teach.

Silber feels that many students have it too easy these days, paraphrasing the Roman poet Juvenal in observing that "luxury is more ruthless than war." He chafes at hearing undergraduates speak of entering the "real world" once they leave school. "That is an expression of escapism," he writes. "It suggests that they were avoiding the real world all the time they were in school." He also argues that college freshmen, rather than graduate students, warrant special attention: "If more of our academic resources were spent on freshmen and sophomores, advanced undergraduates and graduate students would be far more able to study on their own."

STEVE LISS

John Silber on campus: "Everything is combat to him"

Mixing outspoken conservatism with tough leadership.

Silber's outspokenness is not limited to educational matters. Whether writing or speaking, he characteristically offers opinions on everything from Nicaragua (pro-*contra*) and Gorbachev (don't trust him) to abortion (pro-life) and Jesse Jackson (full of "mindless, rhyming pieces of nonsense on which he has built a career"). One of his central philosophical tenets is the necessity of accepting hardship and disappointment. "I'm sorry I didn't put 'death' into the index," he said in an interview. "I really believe that confrontation with death and with reality is necessary to moral education."

Confrontation and struggle have marked much of Silber's career. "Everything is combat to him," says one B.U. professor. Born in San Antonio, Silber grew up in the hard-scrabble Depression years. His mother helped support the family as a schoolteacher while his father, a German architect, tried to make ends meet. Silber started life with a deformed right arm, and his efforts to overcome that handicap probably contributed to his combativeness. After graduate forays into law and religion—he once studied for the ministry—Silber received a doctorate in philosophy from Yale and went on to teach at the University of Texas in Austin. He later served as dean of the College of Arts and Sciences there before being named B.U. president in 1971. Since then he has increased the university's budget more than sevenfold, hired and fired faculty with abandon, and imposed his tight moral code on campus. Although Silber has made his share of enemies over the years, says George Washington president Trachtenberg, "nobody says Boston University is not a better place now than when he came."

Despite his often abrasive words, Silber can be charming in person—as long as he is unchallenged. Interviewers confront seamless arguments peppered with quotes from Shakespeare and references to his critics as "pismires," creatures defined in the dictionary as ants. A small-framed, brown-haired man with angular features and hard eyes, the pipe-smoking Silber smiles rarely, swears sporadically and goes stone-faced when angered. Little of what he says, he concedes, is spontaneous. "I've spent more time thinking about most of the issues I talk about than [other] people who talk about them. And as a consequence I'm not shooting from the hip." Not from the hip, perhaps, but, as he amply demonstrates in *Straight Shooting*, John Silber is not afraid to pull the trigger. ■

"I finally gave up."

—Jay Tittman
Danbury, CT

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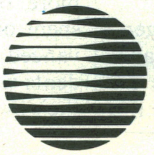

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Beach Volleyball Nets Big Bucks

Once a laid-back pastime, a waterside game goes major league

These are the good vibrations of August: soak up some rays on the beach, sip a brew or two and slap a volleyball over a net. A few years ago, Los Angeles beach boys thought it was cool if they were given a couple of six-packs for winning a beach-volleyball tournament. But times have changed. Last year Sinjin Smith, 32, beach-volleyball's top professional, earned nearly $135,000 for a season of bumping, setting and spiking out there on the sand, and he may do even better this year. Predicts Christopher Marlowe, an ESPN sports commentator and the 1984 U.S. Olympic volleyball-team captain: "Next year a beach-volleyball player will make more than the President of the United States [$200,000]!"

Beach volleyball was once part of the laid-back Southern California style—a bunch of parking-lot attendants and cabana boys devoting their spare time to fun in the sun. Today the game is a hard-charging sport, complete with big-bucks sponsors, a 29-tournament tour of 13 states, an aggressive players' association, lucrative television deals and mobs of loyal fans. "Players used to party all night and wake up under a coffee table an hour before the game," remembers Jay Hanseth, 37, a 19-year veteran player. Now, he says, "there's so much money at stake, players take it very seriously."

DAVID WALBERG

Pulling up from the tide line: professional players in action during a Chicago tournament

Instead of free swim trunks and dinner, six-figure earnings and endorsement deals.

Although it is called volleyball, there are some signal differences between the seaside sport and the amateur game played in schools and in the Olympics. Regular volleyball employs six players a side on a hard-surface court, while beach teams consist of only two usually barefoot acrobats who charge through the sand to get to the ball, giving the game the flavor of balletic misdemeanor. The ball used on the beach is somewhat heavier than the indoor one, mainly to counteract the effects of sea breezes. The object of both games is to make the ball hit the floor—or sand—on the opponent's side. Both sports are played in a 30-ft. by 60-ft. playing area and use a net that is 36 ft. wide and 8 ft. high. Outdoors and in, the first team to score 15 points wins.

Beach-volleyball stars themselves were the ones who pulled their sport up from the tide line. Back in the 1970s, tournaments, such as they were, could offer top players no more than a free pair of swim trunks, dinner in a local restaurant and perhaps a date with the winner of the accompanying bikini contest. But in 1983 a group of players who believed in the game's potential formed the Association of Volleyball Professionals to fight for bigger purses and better promotions. The group, which numbers 250 members, went on strike during the 1984 World Championships in California's Hermosa Beach to protest conditions. Since then, A.V.P. organizer Leonard Armato, a former player and an attorney with a Los Angeles law firm that represents such athletes as Kareem Abdul-Jabbar and Ronnie Lott of the San Francisco 49ers, has helped the players win control of tournament profits, concession sales, TV contracts and endorsement fees.

Central to their success is a lucrative contract with the Miller Brewing Co. The deal reportedly provides most of the more than $2 million in prize money offered this season. Miller sponsors 20 of the A.V.P. tournaments. All matches are arranged by the association in cities that express an interest and have suitable facilities. Between them, ESPN and Prime Ticket, cable sports networks, air 25 tournaments on the tour, and they reputedly pay the A.V.P. handsomely for the rights to do so. Armato thinks volleyball does well on the small screen because it features "a lot of action, the beach and a lot of tanned, great-looking people." Formerly a big hit only between San Diego and Sorrento Beach, north of Los Angeles, the tournaments are currently attracting crowds that average 25,000 at waterside sites in Atlantic City, Chicago and Cleveland. A.V.P. officials are thinking of charging admission next year.

The most startling result of all the action is that six players made more than $100,000 in prizes last year. Smith, for instance, who is president of the A.V.P., leads the league in endorsements. He was awarded part of a beachwear company, owns a clothing store, published an autobiography and will soon be featured in a beach-volleyball video game. Says he: "Everyone is surprised at what's gone on."

They certainly are. For one thing, women can't seem to watch enough beach volleyball. Players have become sex symbols who are regularly asked to autograph arms, legs and other parts of bikinied anatomies. "It's just outrageous how many girls go to these things," says Hanseth. "For some of the younger guys, it's like a sailor going into port." Male fans around the U.S. may soon have the chance to swoon over sweaty women. Thanks to the success of the A.V.P., some members of the fledgling Women's Beach Volleyball Association have asked attorney Armato to help them kick up their heels too.

—By J.D. Reed.

Reported by Dan Cray/Los Angeles

Essay

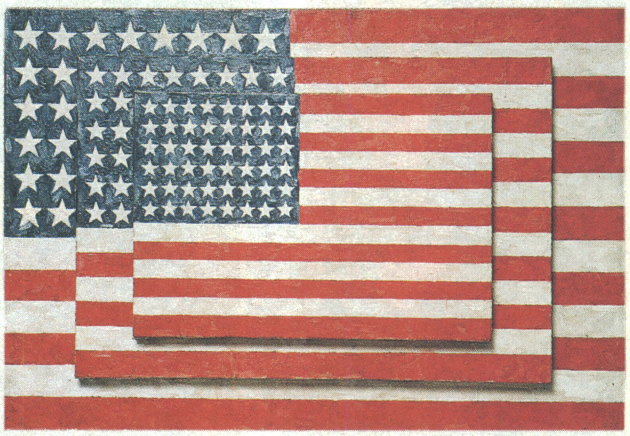
Frank Trippett

A Few Symbol-Minded Questions

Lawmakers looking for a way to protect the flag have a lot of searching to do if they hope to cover all possibilities. An amendment or statute simply outlawing desecration of the U.S. flag is not going to do the job. Potential loopholes and tricky questions abound. For instance:

If there is only one official U.S. flag, would it be permissible to burn an unofficial one—say, an obsolete model with 48 stars? Since a flag is, by usual definition, made of fabric, should a wooden representation of it be protected? What about little lapel pins or cuff links with flags on them? What if somebody publicly stomped a piece of such jewelry?

By custom, the U.S. flag is often called "the red, white and blue." Should the nation prohibit the abuse of any red-white-and-blue decoration? Should it be a crime to burn red-white-and-blue bunting? Or foreign flags of red, white and blue? Incidentally, should "the red, white and blue" be considered a flag when represented in black and white?



What if somebody burned one of those decorative wind socks that are fashioned with a blue field of white stars and red and white stripes to suggest the U.S. flag? A crime?

What if vulgar protesters wiped the ground with a flag designed exactly like the U.S. flag—but colored orange, brown and green? Should that be an offense? Should making such a flag equal desecration?

Should a law protecting the flag also protect homemade facsimiles of the flag? Is a crayon drawing of the flag a flag?

Besides burning, what would constitute the "physical" desecration some of our political leaders emphasize they hope to outlaw? Does that include obscenely wagging a finger at a flag? Sticking out one's tongue at the flag? Thumbing a nose at the flag? What if some miscreant mooned the flag? Or stuck pins in the flag—in public?

At present, burning the President in effigy is lawful. Should it be unlawful to burn an effigy of the flag? Is the flag more important than the President?

Indeed, is the flag more important than any other American symbol? Or should the statute or amendment be expanded to protect all significant national symbols? What if protesters burned a model of the White House? Should that be a crime?

Suppose the national anthem got desecrated? What if somebody deliberately sang or played it off-key? What if a dissident publicly stomped a tinkling music box while it was playing *The Star-Spangled Banner*? Should that be allowed?

If flag burning is outlawed, should it still be all right to burn the U.S. Constitution? Or the Declaration of Independence? Or (gasp!) the *Congressional Record*?

Is the flag even more important than Congress? Imagine that protesters burned the entire U.S. Congress in effigy. Would that be O.K.? What if each tiny effigy were wearing a teensy-weensy lapel flag?

Should states be permitted to electrocute a condemned prisoner with a flag tattooed on his chest? Should burning the flag be a more serious crime than burning a church? More serious than burning a cross?

Should the nation permit postage stamps bearing pictures of the flag to be defaced by inky cancellations?

Commercial exploitation of the flag is commonplace in print, on television and around business premises. Since such use (almost by definition) debases the flag, should it be outlawed? What should be done about garments featuring a flaglike motif? When a flag is cut and sewed into a shirt, is it still a flag?

Does political exploitation debase the flag? Should it be prohibited?

Philosophically speaking, is it even possible to desecrate the U.S. flag? One can desecrate something that is sacred, holy or religious (which is just what desecrate primarily means, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*). Is the U.S. flag sacred, holy or religious? Or is it a symbol of a secular state?

If the flag is now a secular symbol, would an amendment against desecrating it transform it, by implication, into a sacred symbol? Would such an act approximate the founding of a state religion?

If the flag is a sacred, holy or religious symbol, is the worship of it idolatry? Would a flag-worshiping congregation be exempt from taxes like other churches? Should flag burning be considered desecration even if the burner does not believe it to be sacred, holy or religious? Does sacredness exist in a physical object or in the mind of the object's worshiper? There seems no end to such questions.

Answers are not as plentiful. It is not enough to say, as a New York State senator once said, "We want people to respect the flag, and if they will not respect it voluntarily, then we will make them respect it involuntarily." Toward that end, lawmakers might get useful guidance from the Alien and Sedition Acts. Passed in 1798, they were enforced in a way that made a crime of any idea, opinion, remark or act a judge disapproved of. One New Jersey man was arrested and fined $100 for saying he did not care if somebody fired a cannon up the President's arse.

Funny, the laws that made it sedition to speak ill of the President and the Government contained no provision against flag desecration. Still, Federalist judges sitting at the time would have been happy to imprison any Jeffersonian Republican who abused the flag. Among the Americans the Federalists did put behind bars was the author of a placard that urged NO STAMP ACT, NO SEDITION AND NO ALIEN ACTS. And newspapers sternly denounced as "seditious" a group that burned not the flag, but the Alien and Sedition Acts.

That raises yet another question: Should it be a crime to burn a statute or constitutional amendment that makes flag burning a crime? ■

JASPER JOHNS' "THREE FLAGS," 1958; WHITNEY MUSEUM; 50TH ANNIVERSARY GIFT OF GILMAN FOUNDATION, LAUDER FOUNDATION, A. ALFRED TAUBMAN

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